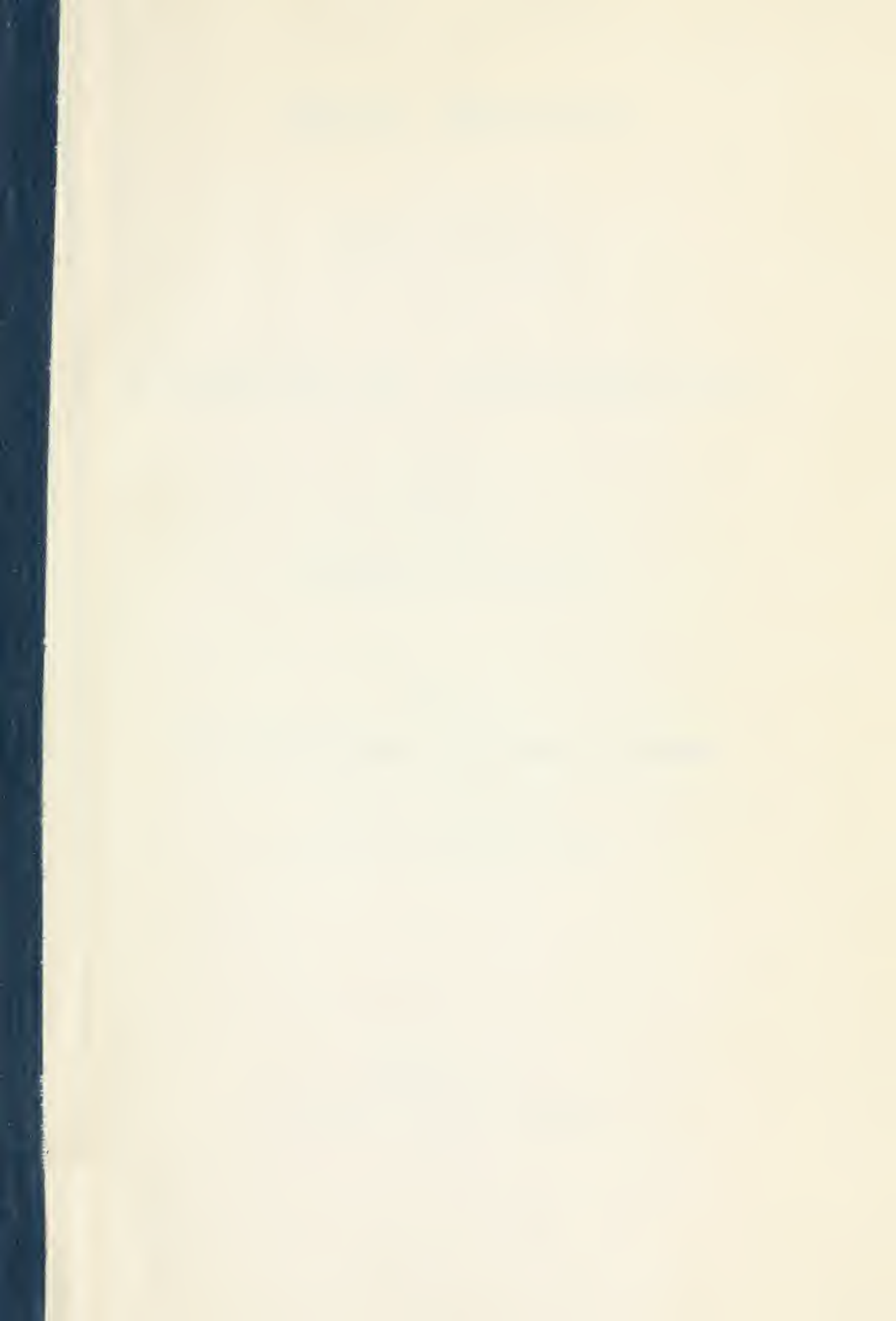


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WILLIAM GARDNER HALE

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No. I

THE *CUM*-CONSTRUCTIONS: THEIR HISTORY AND FUNCTIONS

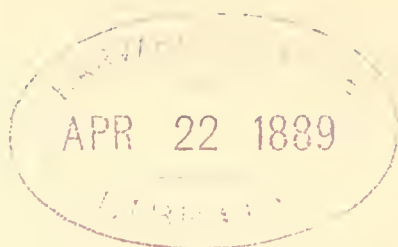
PART II: CONSTRUCTIVE

By WILLIAM GARDNER HALE

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THE
CUM-CONSTRUCTIONS
THEIR HISTORY AND FUNCTIONS

BY
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PROFESSOR OF THE LATIN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN CORNELL UNIVERSITY

PART II: CONSTRUCTIVE



JOHN WILSON AND SON
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1889.

PREFACE.

IN the summer of 1885 the more important of the views advocated in this paper were laid before a group of friends who were special workers in classical philology. In the summer of 1887 a fairly full abstract was presented at the meeting of the American Philological Association, and is printed in the Transactions of that year.

Since the appearance of Part I. of the Study, the present Part has been long delayed, first from the press of other obligations, and latterly through the serious difficulties of distance from my printer.

The following pages present results, whether new or already familiar, as I have been brought to them in the actual conduct of the investigation. In the treatment of a subject so complex, the advantage of the presentation of an ordered whole is evident.

W. G. H.

ROME, December 15, 1888.

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PART II.—CONSTRUCTIVE.

THE CUM-CONSTRUCTIONS: THEIR HISTORY AND FUNCTIONS.

PART II.—CONSTRUCTIVE.

CHAPTER I.

THE SEARCH FOR A CLEW.

IF the problem of the history of the *cum*-constructions is soluble, the clew by which we are to be guided to the course which the investigation should take must obviously be found through comparing the modal behavior of *quom*¹ with that of the various sets of words with which it has something in common. These are as follows:—

1. *Temporal (with or without accessory idea of cause):*
Postquam, simul atque, ubi, and ut temporal.
2. *Causal (originally temporal): Quando, quoniam.*
3. *Causal (not originally temporal): Quod, quia.*
4. *Adversative: Quamquam.*
5. *Relative: Qui.*

1. *Postquam, simul atque, ubi, and ut temporal* express various relations of juxtaposition or succession of two acts or states.

The one of these acts may, or may not, stand to the other in the relation of cause or hindrance.² Such a relation may be seen, e. g., in the following:

¹ For a reason which will appear more clearly later, I employ in these pages the form of *cum* which was heard and written through very nearly the whole of the time covered by the legitimate development of the constructions in question.

² It is a commonplace that expressions of nearness in space frequently take on the power of expressing relations in time, and that expressions of either kind easily take on the power of conveying logical relations, especially that of cause. The original power is sometimes retained, sometimes lost.

Familiar examples are *inde* (*from that place, from that time, from that circumstance*); *ob, propter* (*quapropter, propterea*), vulgar *along of, um*; *ex* and *de*, *out of*,

Adherbal **ubi intellegit** eo processum, uti regnum aut relinquendum esse aut armis renitendum, **necessario** copias **parat** et Iugurthae obvius procedit. Sall., Iug., 21, 1.

Cuius quidem hoc praeclarissimum est, quod, **posteaquam** a Caesare tetrarchia et regno pecuniaque **multatus est**, **negat** se **tamen** eorum auspiciis quae sibi ad Pompeium proficiscenti secunda evenerint paenitere. Cic., Div., I, 15, 27.

Nam **postquam desiimus** facere laudanda, laudare quoque ineptum **vocamus**. Plin., Ep., 3, 21, 3. (*Postquam* is here well on its way toward the meaning of its descendant *puisque*, and may be compared with the English *since*.)

There is in these clauses no clew to the history or force of the subjunctive with *quom temporal*. Clearly, expressions of acts in pure relations of time take the indicative,¹ and expressions, in temporal relations, of facts that are causes of other acts, or are in opposition to them, likewise take the indicative in every case except those which are the subject of our study.

2. Causal (originally temporal): *Quando, quoniam*.

In early Latin, *quando* abundantly shows its original purely temporal meaning, as in Liv. Andron., ap. Gell., 3, 16, 11: *Quando dies adveniet, quem praefata Morta est*; Plaut., Men., 909: *Quando esurio, tum crepant*. In classical Latin it is still occasionally so used, as in Cic., Rull., 2, 16, 41: *Auctoritatem senatus exstare hereditatis aditae sentio, tum quando, Alexandro mortuo, legatos Tyrum misimus*; Cic., Off., 2, 21: *Utinam tunc essem natus, quando Romani dona accipere coepissent*; cf. also Hor., Epod., 16, 27. In the generalizing *quandoque, quandocumque*, and *si quando*, the temporal force maintains itself firmly. The interrogative also goes no farther, never acquiring the force of *for what reason*.

from, aus; *idcirco, quocirca, darum* (the earlier use is seen in Luther's version of Mark 12, 1: Ein Mensch pflanzte einen Weinberg, und führte einen Zaun darum), *warum, therefore, wherefore, zu Folge dessen, consequently*.

As in many prepositions, so in some conjunctions an old temporal (originally local) power remains alongside of a developed logical power; e. g., in English *since* (Anglo-Saxon *sið* = after, plus *ðam* = that), which now indicates (1) separation from a given point in time, (2) cause or ground. A parallel formation of differing fate is seen in *postquam* (= after that), which in classical Latin has the older force of our *since* (with hints of change), but in its later history took on a causal suggestiveness, and in its modern use as *puisque* is given wholly up to the later force of *since*, — as pure causal particle.

¹ In a very few cases, the particles *postquam*, etc., take the subjunctive. These cases will be discussed later.

For the most part, however, *quando* comes to be used in the causal sense of *now that, since*. The mode of the verb, nevertheless, is unaffected by the change.

Quoniam (*quom iam*, corresponding exactly to English *when now*, and fairly well to *now that*) had likewise originally a purely temporal meaning, of which abundant examples remain¹:

Is **quoniam** moritur

 Agri reliquit ei non magnum modum. Plaut., Aul., Prol., 9, 13.

In Bacch. 283-90, and 296-7, —

Is lembus nostrae navi insidias dabat.
 Occepi ego observare eos, quamnam rem gerant.
 Interea e portu nostra navis solvitur.
 Ubi portu eximus, homines remigio sequi,
 Neque aves neque venti citius. **Quoniam** sentio,
 Quae res gereretur, navem **extemplo** statuimus.
Quoniam vident nos stare, occeperunt ratem
 Turbare in portu

Quoniam videmus auro insidias fieri,
 Capimus consilium **continuo**, —

a transitional meaning is seen in *quoniam sentio* and *quoniam vident*, which clauses, though still temporal (as *extemplo* and *continuo* show), yet are statements of acts that are felt to be the causes of the main acts to which they are attached.

This causal force gains at the expense of the temporal, and by classical times has practically ejected it. The experience through which it took *postquam* many centuries to pass, was accomplished by *quoniam*² in the short space between Plautus and Cicero. But, in the passage from the pure temporal to the pure causal force, the mode of the verb remained entirely unaffected. It is therefore evident that the mode after *quom* causal is due to something quite distinct from the causal idea.

¹ Harper's Lexicon fails to notice this important use.

² It is interesting to note that in the following definition Festus recognizes at the same time the essentially temporal nature of *quoniam* and the causal suggestiveness of *postquam*: *Quoniam significat non solum id quod quia, sed etiam id quod postquam, — hac scilicet de causa quod Graeci ἐπεὶ [ἔτε is the reading in Müll.] utriusque significationem obtinet.* Fest., p. 260, Müll.

3. *Causal (originally not temporal) : quod, quia.*

Quod and *quia* are respectively the singular and the plural of the accusative of the relative pronoun, the former corresponding consequently to the Homeric *ὅ*, German *das(s)*, English *that*. The settlement of the ground of the case does not concern our inquiry. A discussion may be found in Zimmermann's *Gebrauch der Conjunctionen quod und quia im älteren Latein* (1880), together with a full treatment of the practical uses of these particles, of which an abstract is given below :

The two particles (Zimmermann shows that there was no original difference in their uses) did not in the beginning indicate a reason, but simply stated a fact which was a fuller explication of something already mentioned. In the following, e. g., *quod* gives the contents of *illud* (examples occur similarly for *istuc*, *id*, *eam rem*) :

Quid **illud** est, **quod** illi **caperat** frons ? Plaut., Epid., 607.

Dum **illud**, **quod** miser **est**, clam esse censet alteros.

Att., 345 (Ribbeck).

In the following, the *quod*-clause gives the contents of the omitted subject or object :

Adde huc, **quod** mihi portento caelestum pater

Prodigium misit. Att., 209-10 (Ribbeck).

Reprehendis quod libertus patronum iuvabat.

Cic., Verr., I, 47, 124.

Examples occur also in which, after a verb of feeling or thinking, or an adjective of feeling, the relative clause gives the contents of a pronoun attached to that verb or adjective :

Quid ? **istuc** times, **quod** ille operam amico dat suo ?

Ter., Haut., 910.

Sin, ut est, ob **eam rem** iratus gnatust,

Quod peperit uxor clam, id levest. Ter., Hec., 780-1.

Omnes ilico

Laetae exclamant 'venit' **id quod** me repente aspexerant.

Ter., Hec., 367-8.

With the *id* of the last passage, the old accusative of specification (= touching the fact that ; cf. *quid*, = with reference to what ?), should be compared the *id* of the following ; in which

example the infinitive, stating a fact, corresponds to the more common *quod*-clause :

Id misera maestast,
Sibi eorum **evenisse** inopiam. Plaut., Rud., 394-5.

It is already clear from these examples how the causal sense of the *quod*-clause arises. It is a short step from *laetae id quod me repente aspexerant* to *laetae quod me repente aspexerant*, from *ob eam rem iratus quod peperit uxor clam* to *iratus quod peperit uxor clam*. But, after that step is taken, *quod* and *quia* are still found with the indicative ; so that it again appears that the ground of the subjunctive after *quom* causal cannot be the causal idea.

In *Ist die Partikel quom ursprünglich nur Zeitpartikel gewesen* (1884), Zimmermann, completing his investigation, desires to show that in its original use *quom* was purely explicative, being parallel in functions as well as in case with *quod* and *quia*, and being interchangeable with them ; and that the temporal power grew up out of the use of the *quom*-clause as explicative of the object of a preposition like *post*, *inter*, etc., as in the following :

Et inter id **cum** circum muros mittitur et **cum** contio advocatur, interesse tempus apparet ex iis quae interea fieri scriptum est. Varro, L. L., 6, 9 (p. 271 Sp.).

The position is probably sound ; but at any rate Zimmermann has shown that in Plautus's time there existed two distinct uses of *quom*, — the familiar temporal use, and a non-temporal explicative use. In other words, there is in Plautus a *quom* which is equivalent to, and interchangeable with, *quod*, or *quia*, and there is a *quom* which is equivalent to *quo tempore*, — a *quom* meaning *that*, and a *quom* meaning *when*.

The proof of the former assertion Zimmermann gives by an abundance of examples, of which a few follow :

Quom ille **itast** ut esse nolo, **id** crucior. Plaut., Trin., 1170.
Etsi **istuc** mihi acerbumst, **quia** ero te **carendumst** optumo,
Saltem **id** volup **est**, **quom** ex virtute fortuna **evenit** tibi.

Plaut., Mil., 1204.

In the last example, *quom* and *quia* appear as precise parallels, giving the contents respectively of *id* and *istuc*.

The step from the explicative use to the use that gives the ground of a feeling (English *that*, as in *I am glad that, I congratulate you that*, etc.) is, as in the case of *quod* and *quia*, a short and natural one. How near the two uses may lie together, can be seen by comparing an example used just above with another which differs from it in phraseology alone (viz., in the omission of the *id*; cf. *I congratulate you upon the fact that* and *I congratulate you that*):

Saltem **id volup** est, **quom** ex virtute fortuna evenit tibi.

Plaut., Mil., 1204.

Gaudeo et **volup est** mihi,

Siquid lenoni optigit magni mali,

Quomque e virtute vobis fortuna optigit.

Plaut., Poen., 1324-6.

This use of the *quom*-clause as explicative of the grounds of feeling maintained itself in the classical literature; and Zimmermann's investigation, therefore, has answered the question, How is it that *cum* causal does not take the subjunctive after verbs expressive of congratulation and the like, while it does after other phrases? I add a few examples:

Gaudes **quom** de me ista foris sermonibus **differs**. Lucil., 30, 34 (Müll.).

Quiapropter neque tanta diis immortalibus gratia haberi possit, quanta habenda est, **quod** is cum illo animo atque ingenio hac civitate potissimum **natus** est, neque ita moleste atque aegre ferri quam ferundum est, **quom** eo morbo perit . . . Q. Fabius Maximus (Schol. Bob. in Cic., Mil., p. 283, Orelli).

Gratulor tibi, **quom** tantum vales apud Dolabellam. Cic., Fam., 9, 14, 3.

Our examination, then, has shown us two things, — (1) the history and reason of the indicative after so-called *quom* causal following phrases expressive of feeling; and (2) the certainty, once more, that the ground of the subjunctive after *quom* causal does not lie in the causal force.

4. *Adversative: quamquam.*

A sharp line must be drawn between the construction after *quamvis* and the constructions after *quamquam* and *quom*. The *quamvis*-clause is an ideal postulate (a phase of the jussive use); while the clause with *quamquam* concedes the contents as facts, and the ordinary adversative *quom*-clause closely resembles it in

that its contents at least correspond to an actual state of affairs, capable of being expressed by independent indicatives.

The fact that *quamquam*, though conveying the adversative idea in the fullest degree, nevertheless is followed by the indicative, is a clear proof that the ground of the mode after *quom adversative* does not lie in the adversative idea.

5. *Relative: qui.*

Qui is a freely declinable relative, and may refer to a nominal or quasi-nominal antecedent of any kind whatever, — person, thing, etc., — including, of course, words indicating time. As regards the more important constructions that may be employed after it, it may introduce, e. g., a statement explicative of the antecedent (determining, like a demonstrative pronoun, *who* the antecedent is, etc.), a parenthetical statement, an “aside,” a final clause, a consecutive clause, a causal or adversative clause, as follows:—

Determinative. Tu, quoniam **eo** tempore mecum esse non potuisti, **quo** ego maxime operam et fidelitatem desideravi tuam, cave festines. Cic., Fam., 16, 12, 6.

Parenthetical. . . . non M. Marcellum . . . , sed legiones nostras, **quod scripsi** in Originibus, in eum locum saepe profectas alacri animo et erecto, unde. . . . Cic., Sen., 20, 75.

An “aside.” Equi fortis et victoris senectuti comparat suam; **quem** quidem probe **meminisse potestis**. Cic., Sen., 6, 14.

An indicative assumption. Improbe Neptunum accusat, **qui** iterum naufragium **petit**. Publil. Syr., 264 (Ribb.).

A subjunctive assumption. **Qui** deorum consilia **culpet**, stultus inscitique sit. (One who should censure the purposes of the gods would be a silly fool.) Plaut., Mil., 736.

Final. De sententia legati statuunt tempus, **quo** foedissimum quemque et seditioni promptum **invadant**. (A time is appointed, at which they shall make an attack upon the worst of the mutineers.) Tac., Ann., 1, 48.

Consecutive. Utrum est **tempus** aliquod **quo** in senatum venisse turpe **sit**? Cic., Dom. S., 3, 7.

Causal and adversative; with or without an introductory ut, utpote, quippe, or praesertim. Neque tamen Antonius procul aberat, **utpote qui** magno exercitu locis aequioribus expeditus tardatos in fuga **sequeretur**. Sall., Cat., 57, 4.

Quom is an indeclinable relative, differing from *qui* in being limited to antecedents dealing with time; as, e. g., *tempus, annus, dies, nox, hora*, or the particle *tum*.

Examination shows easily that *quom* is capable of taking all

the familiar constructions which we found to occur after *qui*, as follows:

Determinative. Nunc de his rebus, quae adsignificant aliquod **tempus**, **cum** (= quo) **dicuntur** aut **fiunt**, dicam. Varro, L. L., 7, 5 (p. 358 Sp.).

Parenthetical. Unum adiciam, omnia me quibus interfueram quaeque statim, **quom** (= quo tempore) maxime vera **memorantur**, audieram persecutum. (I wrote out everything immediately upon its occurrence, — the time at which the truth is most likely to be set down.) Plin., Ep., 6, 16, 22.

An "*aside*." Tarentum vero qua vigilantia, quo consilio recepit! **Quom** quidem (= quo quidem tempore) me audiente Salinatori . . . **inquit**. (. . . On which occasion, by the way, he made the following witty answer to a remark of Salinator's.) Cic., Sen., 4, 11.

An *indicative assumption*. . . Consolatione illa qua solemus uti **quom** (= quandocumque, si quando) levare dolorem maerentium **volumus**. Cic., Tusc., 3, 23, 55.

A *subjunctive assumption*.

Quippe **quom** extemplo in macellum pisces **prolati sient**
Nemo emat; suam quisque partem piscium poscat sibi.

(The moment the fish should be put on sale, there would be an end of buying.) Plaut., Rud., 966-7.

Final.

Nunc est ille dies, **quom** gloria maxuma sese
Nobis **ostendat**, si vivimus sive morimur.

(Now is the day when the supreme glory shall manifest itself to us, whether we live or whether we die.) Enn., Ann., 383 (Vahl).

The starting-point of such a *quom*-clause is probably the same as that of the final *qui*-clause, namely, the pure jussive subjunctive. Still, no true clause of purpose with *quom* seems to have been developed. For, apart from the fact that the constructions of the infinitive and of the objective genitive of the gerund or gerundive were at hand to express the idea of purpose with exactness after a word like *tempus*, the greater sharpness and precision of the relative *quo* would naturally lead to its being employed rather than *quom* (as in the sentence from Tacitus above), as the clause approached more nearly to the common final idea.

Consecutive. Fuit ante tempus **quom** (= quo) Germanos Galli virtute **superarent**, ultro bella **inferrent**, propter hominum multitudinem agrique inopiam trans Rhenum colonias **mitterent**. Caes., B. G., 6, 24.

Causal and adversative; with or without an introductory ut, utpote, quippe, or praesertim. Me et incommodo valetudo, e qua iam emereram, **utpote quom** (might have been quem) sine febris **laborassem**, et Pomptini exspectatio, de quo adhuc ne rumor quidem venerat, tenebat duodecim iam diem Brundisii. Cic., Att., 5, 8, 1.

Our survey of the groups of particles with which *quom* consorts has resulted, then, as follows : —

The usages of the *postquam*, etc., group have not given us a clew to the origin of the subjunctive with *quom* ; for, down to Cicero's time, no subjunctive is found with any of the set. These constructions, however, have served to show that in the temporal use of *quom* as such there is no ground for the subjunctive mode ; and further, that there is none in the idea of "time with accessory notion of cause ;" for these particles when used with this idea still, as we have seen, take the indicative.

The usages of the *quando* and *quoniam* group likewise give no clew, but add to our negative knowledge by showing us that words may pass from an original temporal to a purely causal power without effect upon the mode of the verb introduced by them.

The usages of the *quod* and *quia* group, in connection with Plautus's use of *quom* as a non-temporal explicative particle, give us the key to the indicative mode of Cicero's time in clauses of ground of feeling, etc., after *quom* ; but they help us no farther, except by reinforcing what we have twice learned above, — that the existence of the causal relation does not bring about the subjunctive in Latin.

The construction with *quamquam* gives no clew, but contributes negatively by showing that the presence of the adversative relation (in clauses dealing with facts) does not bring about the subjunctive.

Lastly, the usages of *qui* exhibit a number of indicative and subjunctive constructions, all of which find parallels in clauses with *quom*. Here, then, for the first time, a clew appears.

Further, there is one remarkable feature which the subjunctive *quom*-clauses have in common with the consecutive clauses after *qui* and after that special form of *qui* which became *ut*, — a feature which appears in no other language than the Latin, and in no constructions in that language outside of the *qui*-territory ; viz., *they are capable of making statements which correspond to facts*. It is true that to state facts cannot have been the original force of any of these clauses ; but whether

they practically were felt by the Romans to make such statements or not, in very many cases facts correspond to whatever it is that is conveyed in them.

Clearly, then, we have a reasonable line of investigation suggested. Whether a search upon this line will bring us to a solution of the whole problem of the history of the modal uses in the *quom*-clauses, is yet to be seen. But, at any rate, until this procedure has been followed out to the utmost, and has been shown to fail, no other has a right even to be attempted.

The necessary equipment for the study of the various constructions after the limited relative *quom* is, then, a full and clear understanding of the constructions after the unlimited *qui*, — to which subject we now proceed.

Though we have found our probable clew to the history of the subjunctive *quom*-constructions in the consecutive construction, yet, since we have also to understand the basis of distinction between these subjunctive *quom*-constructions and the indicative constructions after the same particle, our preliminary examination of the *qui*-constructions must cover their entire range, and must even treat more fully some of the topics already noticed.

CHAPTER II.

THE *QUI*-CONSTRUCTIONS.

I. — THE INDICATIVE *QUI*-CONSTRUCTIONS.

OF the three offices of the indicative, — to assert something to be a fact, to assume something to be a fact, and to inquire whether something is a fact, — the relative indicative clause is, through the nature of the relative itself, excluded from the last, and from that alone. We have therefore to examine its functions under the first two heads.

A. — INDICATIVE *Qui*-CLAUSES OF ASSERTION (AFTER AN INDIVIDUAL ANTECEDENT).

I. **The determinative indicative *qui*-clause.** The speaker makes in the *qui*-clause an assertion which, being carried back by the *qui* to the antecedent, enables the hearer to *place*, to *identify* that antecedent, to know who or what is meant. In this use the indicative *qui*-clause either supplements a determinative (demonstrative) pronoun, which is used with the antecedent (i. e., fills out an *is* or *ille*), or performs alone the function of such a pronoun.

Ego Q. Maximum, **eum** qui Tarentum **recepit**, senem adulescens . . . dilexi.
Cic., Sen., 4, 10.

Finem animae **quae** res humanas **miscuit** olim,
Non gladii, non saxa dabunt nec tela.

(*Animae quae . . . miscuit* = *Hannibalis*.) Iuv., 10, 163-4.

In the use just described, the antecedent is in itself *unfinished*, *ununderstood*, and is made complete and intelligible only by the help of the determinative clause, which is therefore an *essential member* of the sentence. In many uses, on the other hand, the relative belongs to an antecedent which is complete in itself.

Under such circumstances, the bond between the relative clause and the main clause is comparatively loose; and, indeed, an entire omission of the relative clause would still leave an intelligible sentence. Such a relative clause we may call *non-essential*.

The non-essential relative clause may throw light upon the quality (character) of the antecedent, or it may express some fact, in the light of which the main clause is to be viewed, or it may itself be a new main clause, beginning a new sentence. In the second case the relation between the relative clause and the main clause is capable of many gradations of comparative closeness or looseness. The closest relation is that of harmony or opposition (the causal or adversative relation); the loosest, that which gives the relative clause a merely parenthetical place in the sentence.¹ If, on the other hand, the relative clause constitutes a new sentence, it may either make a momentary break in the progress of the narration or discussion, playing the part of a parenthetical clause as between sentences (the "aside"), or it may itself advance the narration or discussion (the forward-moving relative clause). These five offices of the non-essential relative clause furnish the next five categories.

2. The indicative qualitative *qui*-clause.

Etenim aderat Lucius frater, gladiator Asiaticus, **qui** myrmillo Mylasis **depu-**
gnarat. Cic., Phil., 5, 7, 20.

3. The indicative *qui*-clause with causal or adversative bearing upon the main statement.²

Ille vir fuit: nos quidem contemnendi, **qui** auctorem **odimus**, acta **defendi-**
mus. Cic., Phil., 2, 37, 96.

4. The parenthetical indicative *qui*-clause.

Hoc enim onere, **quod** mihi commune tecum **est**, aut iam urgentis aut certe
adventantis senectutis et te et me ipsum levare volo. Cic., Sen., 1, 2.

Nec tamen is error, quom omnia bello flagrarent, fide socios dimovit, videlicet
quia iusto et moderato regebantur imperio nec abnuebant, **quod** unum vinculum
fidei **est**, melioribus parere. Liv., 22, 13, 11.

¹ It seems impossible to find any definable grades of relationship between these two extremes.

² I postpone for a little the discussion of the relation of these clauses to the subjunctive causal and adversative clauses.

5. The indicative *qui*-clause of an "aside."

Equi fortis et victoris senectuti comparat suam; **quem** quidem probe meminisse **potestis**; anno enim undevicesimo post eius mortem hi consules, T. Flamininus et M. Acilius, facti sunt (. . . whom, by the way, you must be able to remember very well). Cic., Sen., 5, 14.

6. The forward-moving indicative *qui*-clause.

Nec hercule, inquit, si ego Scriphius essem, nec tu, si Atheniensis, clarus umquam fuisses. **Quod** eodem modo de senectute dici **potest** (And one may say the same kind of thing about old age). Cic., Sen., 3, 8.

B. — INDICATIVE *Qui*-CLAUSES OF ASSUMPTION (AFTER A GENERAL ANTECEDENT).¹

The determinative indicative *qui*-clause seen under No. 1 had for its antecedent an individual person or thing.

When, on the other hand, the *qui*-clause, whether indicative or subjunctive, is determinative of an *indefinite* person or thing (*is qui*, one who, any one who, people who, etc.), it is, in effect, not a statement, but an assumption (= *if* any one, *if* people), or, in convenient phrase, a *generalizing condition*. And the mode employed, whichever it may be, will be the same as in the corresponding generalizing clauses with *si* or *si quis*.

7. The generalizing indicative *qui*-clause (assuming a fact, in any time).²

Qui fortis **est**, idem est fidens (qui = si quis, quicumque). Cic., Tusc., 3, 7, 14.

Qui est enim animus in aliquo morbo, . . . non magis est sanus quam **id** corpus, **quod** in morbo **est** (qui = si quis, quod = si quid). Cic., Tusc., 3, 5, 10.

Qui legitimum **cupiet** fecisse poema,

Cum tabulis animum censoris sumet honesti.

Hor., Ep., 2, 2, 109-10.

¹ The categories of general and particular conditions, and the identification of certain relative clauses with the former, are now so indispensable in any treatment of the syntax of the verb that it is already becoming difficult to remember that they belong to recent times, and that one who uses them should express his obligation to Professor Goodwin.

² Some cases will be discussed later (p. 135), in which, although the form of the relative clause is generalizing, an application to a definite individual is in mind.

II. — THE SUBJUNCTIVE *QUI*-CONSTRUCTIONS.¹

8. The generalizing subjunctive *qui*-clause (assuming an ideal act in the present, the past, or the future).

The generalizing relative clause will take the subjunctive in the cases in which the corresponding clause with *si* or *si quis* would take it.

Deum **qui** non summum **putet**
Aut stultum aut rerum esse imperitum existumem.
Caecil. Stat., 259-60 (Ribbeck).

One who should refuse to think (Love) the supreme god,
I should suppose to be either a fool or a recluse.²

When the verb of the relative clause is a second person singular generalizing, the mode, in accordance with a use to which exceptions occur only in the early literature (and there rarely), is in the subjunctive.

Nullast tam facilis res, quin difficilis siet,
Quam invitus **facias**.
Ter., Haut., 805-6.

The final clauses with *qui* do not concern us, since, as we have seen, they are at least very rare (if, indeed, they occur at all with the full idea of purpose) in connection with *quom*.

9. The consecutive *qui*-clause. — The consecutive clauses exhibited in the grammars are classified by the writers on the basis of differences of antecedents, — an important classification, but one which does not suffice for the solution of the problem of the genesis of these clauses. Our own investigation, having this solution in view, must classify them on the basis of differences of function.

They are found, when so classified, to embrace five distinct kinds. In one of these kinds (and in one only) an inherent reason for the mode appears; for its verb is capable of standing in an independent subjunctive sentence of ideal assertion, as,

¹ There are parenthetical and forward-moving subjunctive relative clauses corresponding to classes 3, 4, and 5 above; but they do not concern the investigation of the *quom*-constructions.

² Holtze (II. p. 190) classifies this as a causal subjunctive, but wrongly. See p. 135 of this paper.

e. g., in *nihil ecaster est quod facere mavelim* (Plaut., As., 868), in which the ground of the mode of *mavelim* is the same as if it stood in an independent sentence like *nihil facere mavelim*; or as in *at enim pauci quidem sunt sed vigentes animis corporibusque, quorum robora ac vires vix sustinere vis ulla possit* (Liv., 21, 40, 8), in which the ground of the mode in *possit* is the same as if it stood in an independent sentence *eorum robora ac vires vix sustinere vis ulla possit*. (Note that such an instance constitutes an *independent subjunctive characterizing sentence*).¹

This class would seem, therefore, to be the starting-point of a movement of development. The probable psychological processes of this development, and the various stadia in its progress, are as follows: —

(a) The original consecutive clause (the verb of which would be equally in the subjunctive if independent) characterizes the antecedent by stating some act that would naturally flow, would naturally have flowed, etc., from the character of the antecedent.

Quis homost, **qui dicat** me dixisse istuc?

Plaut., Bacch., 802.

(Equivalent to a *quis dicat?*, = *nemo dicat*.)

Quam saepe forte temere
Eveniunt **quae** non **audeas** optare.

Ter., Phorm., 758-9.

(Non audeas = *one would not venture*.)

Nihil est aeque **quod faciam** lubens.

Ter., Phorm., 565.

(Equivalent to *nihil aeque faciam lubens*.)

Nemost, **quem** ego nunciam magis **cuperem** videre quam te.

Ter., Eun., 561.

Compare: I could a tale unfold **whose** lightest word
Would harrow up thy soul.

Shak., Hamlet, 1, 5.

Who is here so base **that would** be a bondman?

Shak., Jul. Caes., 3, 2.

¹ The genesis of the consecutive *ut*-construction is of course the same as that of the *qui*-construction. A fuller treatment of the genesis of both constructions than there is room for here is given in my article on the Sequence of Tenses in Latin, "American Journal of Philology," viii. 1.

Then, by a confusion between what actually is said in the construction and what appears to be involved in it, a usage grows up by which —

(*b*) The developing consecutive clause characterizes the antecedent by stating some act that actually will flow, does flow, or has flowed from the nature of the antecedent.

I shall presently offer probable evidence that the development of the consecutive constructions began in clauses after negative antecedents. Meanwhile clauses of this kind will well illustrate the ease of the transition from (*a*) to (*b*): —

Nemo est **qui** factis me aequiperare **queat**. Enn., Epitaph. Scip. (The meaning may be *there is none that could equal* or *there is none that can equal*; i. e., we cannot be sure whether *nequeat* stands for an independent *nequeat* or an independent *nequit*.)

Nullus est, **quoi** non **invideant** rem secundam optingere. Plaut., Bacch., 541. (May mean *there is none to whom they would not grudge good luck*, or *there is none to whom they do not grudge good luck*.)

The result of such confusions is that the subjunctive, in cases where a consecutive force is clear, invades the proper province of the indicative, as in the following: —

Nemo exstat **qui** ibi sex mensis **vixerit**. Plaut. Trin. 543 (= *nemo vixit*).

Compare the following, which differs from these in modal treatment (the English language has not carried its so-called “potential” beyond the pure force of an ideal assertion), but not in feeling: —

Breathes there the man with soul so dead
Who never to himself hath said,
This is my own, my native land?

These clauses are in effect complex adjectives, expressing a quality of the antecedent, as is illustrated in the following, in which the relative clause is coupled by a connective to a simple adjective: —

Nulla umquam res publica nec **maior** nec **sanctior** nec bonis exemplis **ditior** fuit, nec in **quam** civitatem tam serae avaritia luxuriaque **inmigraverint**, nec **ubi** tantus ac tam diu paupertati ac parsimoniae honos **fuerit**. Liv., Praef., 11.

The repeated apprehension of the qualitative idea in a construction so frequently recurring would lead to the feeling that the office of the construction itself was to express that idea. At

this point, then, we may define the subjunctive *qui*-clause as the construction used (within limits which are to be discussed later) in statements made for the purpose of exhibiting the quality of an antecedent.

An almost inevitable extension would now take place through the inclusion of other ideas equally qualitative, though not involved in the original consecutive ideas; namely, direct statements of the existence or absence of qualities. Hence,

(*c*) The developing clause (originally consecutive, now qualitative) characterizes the antecedent by directly stating the existence in it, or absence from it, of a quality.

Sed vatem egregium, **cui** non **sit** publica vena,
 Qui nihil expositum soleat deducere, nec qui
 Communi feriat carmen triviale moneta,
 Hunc, qualem nequeo monstrare et sentio tantum,
 Anxietate carens animus facit.

Iuv., 7. 53-7.

(*Cui non sit publica vena* belongs to class (*c*), while *qui solcat* and *qui feriat* belong to class (*b*)).

So far, the consecutive-qualitative¹ clauses express only the character of the antecedent; but they also naturally extend themselves to qualitative clauses expressive of the situation, the plight, the condition, of the antecedent, even though that situation be the result, not of the character of the antecedent, but of the activity of some other person or thing. Hence,

(*d*) The developing qualitative clause exhibits the condition of the antecedent by stating some experience of his (hers, its) proceeding, not from the nature of the antecedent, but from an external source.

Homō me miserior nullus est aequē, opinor,
 Neque aduorsa **quoi** plura **sint** sempiterna.

Plaut., Merc., 335-6.

Quis me Athenis nunc magis quisquamst homo **quoi** di **sint** propitii?

Plaut., Aul., 810.

¹ I have preferred to use the word "qualitative" rather than "characterizing" in order to include both expressions of character and expressions of situation, — a use justified by the Latin *qualis* (see Juvenal's *sed qualis rediit? Nempe una nave, cruentis fluctibus ac tarda per densa cadavera prora*, 10, 185-6.)

But all these clauses in effect classify. In consequence, the qualitative construction occasionally extends itself to clauses the office of which is classification alone, with no true expression of either the character or the condition of the antecedent. Hence,

(*c*) The classifying clause places the antecedent in a class on the ground of some act or circumstance which (at the extreme) may be wholly external to him (her, it).

Eorum **quos viderim** Domitius Afer et Iulius Secundus longe praestantissimi. Quintil., 10, 1, 118. (The fact that Quintilian has seen them has no effect upon the men themselves, still less exhibits anything naturally flowing from their characters, but serves merely to set up a class.)

The general state of the modal usage in the consecutive-qualitative constructions as we find them at the time of Plautus is as follows:

The subjunctive is always used in *qui*-clauses expressing the result of an adjective modified by *tam*, etc.; i. e., it is the already established mode where the consecutive idea is clear. It is always used in relative clauses after phrases like *nullus est qui*; while after phrases like *si quis est qui* it is not yet fixed (Terence has a case of the indicative), and after phrases like *sunt qui* or *est qui* the indicative is still the commoner mode.

This state of affairs would seem to indicate that the development of the consecutive subjunctive began in clauses after negative antecedents, and was largely due to them.¹ It is, in fact, in precisely such clauses that those confusions and extensions to which we have found that the development is probably due would most easily occur. Indeed, the transitions seem so slight in these clauses that one must look at examples after positive antecedents in order to see how considerable a distance has been covered by the process of development. It is a long step from the subjunctive in *est quod voluerim* (*there is some-*

¹ The German use of the subjunctive (especially in the preterite tenses) in relative clauses after negative antecedents is a striking construction, which may well have the same history as the Latin usage which we are studying; and to the same phenomena may belong the occasional use of the subjunctive in consecutive clauses in Anglo-Saxon and Early English.

thing which I should like) to the subjunctive in *eorum quos viderim* (of those whom I have seen).

I have assumed, as every one does, that the feeling which led to the unvarying use of the subjunctive after *nullus est qui* was the consecutive feeling. It is of no grammatical consequence whether the speaker employs the full apparatus of an adjective modified by a *tam*, *adeo*, etc., followed by a *qui*- or *ut*-clause, or employs the bare *qui*. In Merc., 35, 36, Plautus wrote *quia nullus usquam amator adeost callide facundus, quae in rem sint suam, ut possit loqui*; but the meaning of the sentence would have been the same if he had written *nullus est amator qui possit loqui*. A similar case after a positive antecedent may be seen in Caes., B. G., 4, 34, 4: *Secutae sunt continuos complures dies tempestates, quae et nostros in castris continerent et hostem a pugna prohiberent*. We must then believe that to a Roman the bare *qui* was in certain cases capable of a clear and full consecutive power. And not only this, but we must also, I think, suppose that the use of this bare *qui* with consecutive force antedates the use of the fuller expressions *tam — qui*, etc. Such a view not only harmonizes with what we know of the workings of language in general, but is the only one which allows us a rational starting-point for the development of the particular construction which we are studying. That starting-point should be an independent subjunctive assertion; and when such an assertion is attached to a noun through a relative, no expression of degree in connection with that antecedent is needed in order to produce a complete grammatical construction. We must then assume that the oldest introductory apparatus for the consecutive clause in Latin is the simple *qui*. The point is of consequence, as will be seen presently, when we come to treat certain special developments of the consecutive clause.¹

The consecutive-qualitative subjunctive probably first became habitual in clauses after negative antecedents and clauses after interrogatives implying a negative, and then made its way into

¹ The comparatively frequent occurrence of the consecutive *ſæt* without a preceding demonstrative adverb in Anglo-Saxon and Old English would similarly seem to point back to a period when the bare relative was the sole apparatus of introduction for the consecutive clause.

clauses after indefinite antecedents bordering closely upon negation, and then, still further, into clauses after indefinite antecedents of whatever kind, as in Ter. Haut. 232: *Concurrunt multa, eam opinionem quae mihi animo exaugeant*. The last process of the development, however, was a very slow one, and was first completed in the latest writings of Cicero. And even then stability had not been reached; for, some centuries later, people are found freely employing the indicative after *sunt qui*, etc. (examples on p. 112.)

As early as the time of Plautus, one application of the qualitative subjunctive after indefinite antecedents promised an important extension of the construction. Plautus employs it after an antecedent which, though indefinite in form, yet clearly refers to a distinct individual, as in Rud. 311-14: *Ecquem adolescentem, Dum hic astat, strenua facie, rubicundum, fortem, Vidistis, qui tres duceret chlamydatus cum machaeris?* The final result of such uses might well have been that the subjunctive should have become the universal mode in all relative clauses employed to exhibit the character or situation of the antecedent. But the movement did not so far extend itself. It was checked at clauses belonging directly to self-defining antecedents (the clauses which we have called *non-essential*), as in the following: —

Venit et **Crispi** iucunda senectus,
Cuius erant mores qualis facundia.

Iuv., 4, 81-2.

Cum hoc veteranus **Cafo**, quo neminem veterani peius **oderunt**. Cic., Phil., 11, 5, 12.

It will be helpful if we can draw a firm line of demarcation between the territory of the subjunctive qualitative clause and the territory of the indicative qualitative clause. In either case the clause forms a complex adjective. I find that the subjunctive is used if this complex adjective is immediately or practically predicative, the indicative if it is not.¹

¹ So far I am in agreement with Fischer (Latin Grammar, II. p. 560). Fischer appears to me, however, to draw his lines too closely, in disallowance of historical development. Yet I cannot mention his grammar without expressing my sense of its great value, not only for its acumen, but for its immense and well-arranged collection of examples.

Illustrations are given by the simple adjective *irreparable* in the following: —

Certain losses are **irreparable**.

There are certain **irreparable** losses (= there are losses *that are irreparable*).

Loss of reputation and loss of self-respect are **irreparable** losses (are losses *that are irreparable*).

He was harrowed by loss of reputation and loss of self-respect, — **irreparable** losses (= losses *that are irreparable*).

It will be noticed, from the last example, that the effect of attaching an adjective to an appositive is to predicate that adjective of the word to which the appositive belongs.

The adjective is essential in all the cases given above. To remove it from the sentence is, in the first two cases, to leave a bare predication of existence; while to omit it in the last two cases is to leave the thought suspended. On the other hand, the statement "*in came that delightful old gentleman, Crispus*" (as in the citation from Juvenal just above), completely satisfies the intelligence of the hearer, without the addition of the statement, "*whose character was of a kind with his eloquence.*"

Briefly, then, we may say that the mode of the essential qualitative clause is the subjunctive, and the mode of the non-essential qualitative clause the indicative.

Further, it will be found that the essential qualitative clause is always consecutive, or at least still bears in its form the clear marks of a consecutive origin. But this is what we should expect from the history of the clause. We have seen above that it is consecutive originally, and outgrows the consecutive relation only in the purely classifying type, where it usurps the office of the determinative clause; and in this last province, as we shall presently find, the subjunctive clause scarcely so much as gains a footing, and is under no circumstances necessary.

The accuracy of these distinctions may be tested by watching the modal behavior of the qualitative clause when it occurs after a self-defining antecedent in company with the simple adjective or an adjectival noun. It will be found, that if the clause is connected with the adjective by a conjunction (the effect of which is to make it at once essential and predicative), the subjunctive is used; but that where there is no conjunction

(the clause being therefore non-essential and non-predicative), the indicative is regular.

Illud etiam in tali consilio animadvertendum vobis censeam, . . . cui nos hosti relicturi sitis? Pyrrho videlicet, **qui** hostipitum numero captivos **habuit**? an **barbaro** ac **Poen**o, **qui** utrum avarior an crudelior sit, vix existimari **potest**? Liv., 22, 59, 14.

Vos, vos appello, **fortissimi** viri, **qui** multum pro re publica sanguinem **effudistis**. Cic., Mil., 37, 101.

Gnaivod patre prognatus, fortis vir sapiensque,
Quoius forma virtutei parisuma **fuit**.
C. I. L., 30.

Nos Brundisii apud M. Laenium Flaccum dies xiii fuimus, virum **optimum**, **qui** periculum fortunarum et capitis sui prae mea salute **neglexit**, neque legis improbissimae poena **deductus est**, quo minus. . . . Cic., Fam., 14, 4, 2.

Et sollicitant homines imperitos Saxa et Cafo, ipsi **rustici** atque **agrestes**, **qui** hanc rempublicam nec **viderunt** umquam nec videre constitutam **volunt**. . . . Cic., Phil., 10, 10, 22.

Parente P. Sestius natus est, indices, homine, ut plerique meministis, et **sapiente** et **sancto** et **severo**; **qui** quom tribunus plebis primus inter homines nobilissimos temporibus optimis factus esset, reliquis honoribus non tam uti **voluit** quam dignus videri. Cic., Sest., 3, 6.

Circumsessus es. A quibus? A Lampsaenis: **barbaris** hominibus, credo, **aut** eis **qui** populi Romani nomen **contemnerent**. Cic., Verr., 1, 32, 81.

Dolo propinquorum cecidit, **liberator** haud dubie Germaniae, **et qui** . . . florantissimum imperium **laccessierit**. Tac., Ann., 2, 88.

Erat homo **ingeniosus acutus acer et qui** plurimum in scribendo et salis **haberet** et fellis nec candoris minus. Plin., Ep., 3, 21, 1.

Prope cotidie ad audiendos quos tunc ego frequentabam Quintilianum, Niceten Sacerdotem ventitabat, vir alioqui **clarus et gravis et qui** prodesse filio memoria sui **debeat**. Plin., Ep., 6, 6, 3.

Inde consilia inire cum genero coepit L. Sextio, **strenuo** adolescente **et cuius** spei nihil praeter genus patricium **desset**. Liv., 6, 34, 11.

Persius hic permagna negotia dives habebat,
Clazomemis, etiam litis cum Rege molestas;
Durus homo atque odio qui posset
vincere Regem.

Hor., Sat., 1, 7, 4-6.

The following will illustrate the predicative office of the subjunctive qualitative clause, in cases where no simple adjective is employed:—

(a) **Ea** est Romana gens, **quae** victa quiescere **nesciat**. Liv., 9, 3, 12. (The Roman race is incapable, etc. *Ea quae nesciat* is a complex adjective, in the predicate after *est*.)

(b) Quaedam autem sunt aegritudines, **quas** levare illa medicina nullo modo **possit**. Cic., Tusc., 4, 28, 61. (Certain ailments *are* incurable, etc.)

Nunc dicis aliquid **quod** ad rem **pertineat**. Cic., Rosc. Am., 18, 52. (What you say *is* to the point.)

Outside of the limits we have sketched, the subjunctive does not go, except in the classifying clause. But even within these limits there is an occasional wavering of the mode, as we shall see in the next chapter.

THE CAUSAL AND ADVERSATIVE *QUI*-CLAUSES.

A. — INDICATIVE CAUSAL AND ADVERSATIVE *Qui*-CLAUSES.

An indicative statement that exhibits a quality or condition of some person or thing (independent indicative qualitative sentence) will necessarily, when attached to that person or thing by *qui*, etc., be in a relation of harmony or of opposition, as the case may be, to any act that is stated in the main clause, other than an act in which the idea of mere existence, or of motion and the like, is predominant (as in *repti sunt qui*). E. g., the independent statement *tantus natu deorum nescis nomina* indicates the mental condition of the person to whom it is addressed. If, now, it be attached by a relative to the subject of another statement like *stultior es barbaro poticio*, the result is an indicative relative clause justifying the statement of the main clause. The following passage illustrates at once the genesis of the causal and of the adversative indicative *qui*-clause: —

O Lyde, es **barbarus**,
Quem ego sapere nimis **censui** plus quam Thalem.
 I, **stultior** es barbaro poticio,
Qui tantus natu deorum **nescis** nomina.

Plaut., Bacch., 121-4.

The history of these causal and adversative indicative relative clauses is of course the same in Latin as in Greek. In the grammars of the latter language the names *causal* and *adversative* are freely applied by all the grammarians. In the Latin grammars, on the other hand, these names are not employed; and most students, accordingly, would regard the phrase *causal indicative relative clause* as a contradiction in terms, having been brought to understand that, wherever a causal idea exists, the subjunctive must, as a matter of course, be employed. We

shall see later, however, that Cicero freely uses the indicative in cases where the causal-adversative relation could not miss the apprehension either of the speaker or the reader.

B. — SUBJUNCTIVE CAUSAL AND ADVERSATIVE *Qui*-CLAUSES.

A probable genesis of the use of the subjunctive with causal or adversative feeling is suggested by sentences like *Summe autem nihili, qui nequeam ingenio moderari meo?* (Plaut., Bacch., 91). They point to the original mechanism of the consecutive clause suggested above, in which, without a modifying *tam* or *ita*, the main clause expressed a quality, and the *qui*-clause the working of that quality. But a second conception would connect itself with such a use; for the *qui*-clause not only expresses the result of the character of the antecedent exhibited in the main statement, but is at the same time a *justification of that statement*, — is at once *consecutive* and *causal*. The frequent recurrence of such combinations would lead to an association of the causal idea with the mode itself; and the use of the mode would naturally be extended later to causal clauses of whatever kind. On this hypothesis, then, the clause in its beginning is *consecutive-causal*, and finally becomes *causal* without limitations.

We are of course now in the region of speculation. Absolute proof is impossible, and nothing but a considerable consensus of opinion (which always requires time to form) could enable any one to hold with entire confidence the view here expressed. But it should be remembered that the common views that the subjunctive in this construction "is subjective," or "is due to subordination," are also incapable of proof, and, in addition, are open to grave objections, as was urged on pp. 3-7 in Part I. of this Study. I there expressed a conviction that the task of the syntacticist is to find for every construction either a direct descent from some construction that is acknowledged to exist, or a genesis in the working of some natural psychological influence upon such a construction. To my mind, a solution of the latter kind is alone possible in the case of the subjunctive causal *qui*-constructions; and the

solution here offered appears to me very probable. Certain hints which are in its favor may be pointed out: —

While combinations nearest to the assumed true consecutive origin (such as *insanus es qui*) are found with the indicative as well as the subjunctive in Plautus, and while combinations farthest from such an origin are also found with the subjunctive, yet a student of Plautus must notice that a large proportion of the subjunctive examples occur after combinations like the one instanced, or after combinations through which, after this beginning, the use of the subjunctive would naturally spread, at an early period in its extension. Such an extension may be sketched in the following, though the first three sentences, which I take to illustrate the starting-point of the construction, are rather suggestions from which to conceive what the starting-point was, than satisfactory examples. For the causal feeling was well advanced by Plautus's time, and the original consecutive feeling was correspondingly weak: —

Quid, istae **mutae** sunt, **quae** pro se fabulari **non queant**?

Plaut., Rud., 1100.

(Are they dumb, [so] that they cannot speak for themselves?)

Sumne ego homo **insipiens**, **qui** haec mecum egomet **loquar** solus?

Plaut., Pseud., 911 (Am I a blockhead, [so] that I talk to myself?)

Sed utrum tu **masne an femina es**, **qui** illum patrem **voces**?

Plaut., Rud., 104. (Similarly Pers., 663, Amph., 1021, Bacch., 582-3.)

The repeated recurrence of such combinations would lead to others like the following: —

Quae te **intemperiae** tenent,

Qui me perperam perplexo nomine **appelles**?

Plaut., Mil., 436-7.

(What fit has got you, in consequence of which you call me . . . ?)

The interrogative form would easily suggest the predicative form: —

Stulta es plane,

Quae illum tibi aeternum **putes** fore amicum et benevolentem.

Plaut., Most., 189-90.

Immo ecceator **stulta** multum, **quae** vobiscum **fabulem**.

Plaut., Mil., 445. (So Merc., 291; Aul., 769; Mil., 372; Pers., 260, and frequently.)

Such combinations as these would suggest others like *absurde facis qui*, and the comparative forms *stultior es qui*, *insipientior es qui*: —

Absurde facis qui angas te animi.

Plaut., Epid., 326.

Nam tu es lapide silice **stultior**

Qui hanc **ames**.

Plaut., Poen., 291-2.

Sed ego sum **insipientior**,

Qui, egomet unde redeam, hunc **rogitem**, quae ego sciam atque hic nesciat.

Plaut., Trin., 936-7.

By the time this point is reached, the subjunctive relative clause has gained the power of stating a ground of judgment, and the development of the full causal power would rapidly follow. Further, in proportion as the causal power gained, the consecutive power must lose. And when the former power became complete, the causal subjunctive would no longer be confined to essential clauses (the territory of its origin), but would invade the territory of the non-essential clauses.

A proposed psychological solution of a problem gains in probability if the process of development which is suggested can be proved to have taken place in a similar construction in another language. Within narrow limits, the consecutive clause after the English conjunction *that* appears to have gained a justifying force. In the opening of the song in "Two Gentlemen of Verona," 4, 2, 40, —

Who is Sylvia? What is she,
That all the swains adore her?

the meaning is *what are her qualities, such that in consequence the swains adore her*. But at the same time the *that*-clause justifies the asking of the question. I add other examples (selected from the article on *that-consecutive* in Schmidt's Shakespeare-Lexicon), arranged by stages, the first being still consecutive, while the last do little more than assign a ground for a question or a statement.

What am I, that thou shouldst condemn me thus? Ven., 205. What uncouth ill event hath thee befallen, that thou dost trembling stand? Lucr., 1599. Have I laid my brain in the sun and dried it, that it wants matter? Merry Wives, 5, 5, 144. I doubt he be not well, that he comes not home. Ib., 1, 4, 43. These hands do lack nobility, that they strike a meaner than myself. Ant., 2, 5, 82.

An interesting case is our English version of Matthew, 8, 27 (similarly Mark, 4, 41, Luke, 8, 25), "*What manner of man is this, that the winds and the sea obey him?*", which, though a trace of the consecutive feeling still remains, is in fact a translation of an original that employed *ὅτι*.

Had the English developed a consecutive use of the subjunctive, and retained the consecutive use of the relative pronoun, as in "Who is here so base that would be a bondman?", we might well have had an idiom exactly corresponding to that of the Latin causal subjunctive.¹

The association of an adversative force with the subjunctive *qui*-clause would easily arise from the very frequent occurrence of the causal *qui*-clause in connection with negative main statements, or questions of negative implication. In such sentences, that which is the justification of the negative feeling as a whole is in opposition to the statement which is negated. In such a sentence as "this can hardly give pleasure to you, who are already familiar with the whole matter," the relative clause may mean either *because of the fact that* or *in spite of the fact that*. The following illustrates how easy the confusion is between the causal and the adversative idea:—

Nemo adfuit, ne hic quidem Hortensius, **praesertim qui** illum solus antea de ambitu **defendisset**. Cic., Sull., 2, 6.

The relative clause should in strictness be concessive, but it takes an adverb which betrays the causal feeling (*praesertim*) and shows that the underlying sense of an *adesse debuit Hortensius* was governing Cicero's expression.

With the growth of the language in fulness of apparatus of expression, the clauses in which a true consecutive force is intended to be expressed would be cast in the full familiar form *tam—qui*; and in consequence the pure consecutive *qui*-clause,

¹ The German *dass* is apparently similar in such sentences as *Ist er stumm, dass er nichts sagt?* But (I am indebted to the courtesy of Professor Paul for my information) such combinations are not old, hardly appearing as yet in the fifteenth century; whereas the ground-assigning *daz* is already in use in Mhd. (Paul's *Mittelhochdeutsche Gramm.*, § 351, 3.)

The justifying infinitive in such combinations as *Er war ein Thor, das zu thun* (cf. the corresponding use in English) seems more likely to be of consecutive origin.

which we have found to be probably older than the clause with *tam* — *qui*, would have nothing but its causal function left to it. At the very late period of the language at which a literature arose, the differentiation between the two kinds of clauses was already complete.

If the development now sketched for the causal clause had not already taken place, there might conceivably have been a development of a different kind at a later period in the history of this same consecutive-qualitative *qui*-clause, as follows: —

We have seen that qualitative clauses are in effect complex adjectives. They will therefore be capable of all the play of logical relations of which the adjective and its equivalents (the genitive and ablative of characteristic, and the participle) are capable. Among these relations are those of cause and of opposition to the main act. The former relation is illustrated in Cic., Fam., 5, 2, 2: *Quid enim est quod audeam suadere tibi, homini summa auctoritate summaque prudentia?* The latter is illustrated in Cic., Verr., 2, 21, 51: *Hostis, et hostis in ceteris rebus nimis ferus et immanis tamen honorem hominis decorum religione consecratum violare noluit.* In both these cases the adjectival words are in a quasi-predicative use, and might therefore be replaced by a subjunctive *qui*-clause, which would then be at once qualitative and causal or adversative. Instructive combinations of simple adjectives with such qualitative causal clauses occur: —

Facile persuadet, ut **cupido** honorum **et cui** Tarquinii materna tantum patria **esset**. Liv., 1, 34, 7.

Lucumoni contra omnium heredi bonorum quom divitiæ iam animos facerent, auxit ducta in matrimonium Tanaquil, **summo loco nata et quae** haud facile iis in quibus nata erat humiliora **sineret** ea quo innupsisset. Liv., 1, 34, 3-4.¹

¹ In studying early opinions upon this subject, I recently found the following in Grotzsch's Krüger's Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache (published in 1842), § 613, c, in a comment upon the sentence (Cic., Tusc., 3, 12, 27) *Tarquinio quid impudentius, qui bellum gereret cum iis, qui non tulerant eius superbiam*: "Allein auf diejenige Beschaffenheit des Tarquinius, aus der das Kriegführen hervorging, gründet sich zugleich das Urtheil, dass er schamlos sei." So stimulating a suggestion ought not to have failed of recognition in its day.

A combination of the same nature, but simpler in form, occurs when the qualitative clause carries out the idea of an *is* or *ille* belonging to the antecedent, and the verb with which that antecedent is connected indicates an activity. In nearly all cases of this sort (they are the cases which are grouped under Category V in the next chapter) a causal or adversative relation between the main and the subordinate clause is necessarily set up, as in the following, in the first of which the *qui*-clause has a causal bearing, in the second an adversative: —

An quicquam eximium potest esse in **ea** natura, **quae** sua voluptate laetans nihil nec **actura sit** umquam neque **agat** neque **egerit**? Cic., N. D., 1, 41, 116. (Surely there can be nothing remarkable in a nature that [= such that it] delights in its own pleasure, and never thinks of doing anything?)

Retinete igitur in provincia diutius **eum**, **qui** de sociis cum hostibus, de civibus cum sociis **faciat** pactiones; **qui** hoc etiam se pluris esse quam conlegam **putet**, quod ille vos tristitia voltuque deceperit, ipse numquam se minus, quam erat, nequam esse **simularit**. Cic., Prov. Cons., 5, 112. (Keep in his province, then, a man that [= whose character is such that he] makes covenants with the enemy in regard to our allies, etc.)

Through the recurrence of such combinations, the causal-adversative idea might conceivably come to be associated with the subjunctive mode, which would then spread to clauses after self-explaining antecedents.

But this explanation of the genesis of the causal-adversative subjunctive cannot, I think, be accepted for the time of Plautus. It presupposes a common use of the subjunctive qualitative construction in essential clauses after positive antecedents connected with a verb that expresses an activity. Now, abundant as they are in Ciceronian Latin, such clauses (except in a few cases of a full consecutive expression like *adco — qui*) are wanting in Plautus. We must hold, then, to the consecutive-causal genesis proposed above. But we may also feel that the state of things which, as sketched above, might of itself have developed, by Cicero's time, a causal-adversative qualitative clause, may well have produced a certain amount of confusion of the two kinds of clauses in the Roman consciousness, a feeling that the causal clause is at the same time qualitative. Professor Greenough's statement, under the heading of the consecutive clause, in § 320*a* of his Grammar ("a relative clause is used

when the quality indicated is connected with the action of the main clause either as cause on account of which, or as hindrance in spite of which"), may therefore, it seems to me, be a correct exposition of the nature of the causal-adversative clause as it was in classical Latin; though, after myself agreeing with it for many years, I now feel that it at least does not represent the state of things in the early literature.¹

We have found two distinct kinds of causal-adversative sentences, — the one descended from the indicative clause of character or situation, the other from the subjunctive consecutive clause of character or situation. It is important to reach a clear conception of the difference between them.

The indicative causal-adversative clause bears no special marks of its nature. So far as the form goes, it might be any one of a number of constructions. The subjunctive clause, on the other hand, bears in its mode a distinctive mark which, though not absolutely confining it to the causal function, yet practically makes of it either the causal clause or the (in Cicero's time) allied qualitative clause. For clearness of distinction, the one may be called the *unlabelled*, or *tacit*, causal-adversative clause; the other the *labelled*, or *explicit*, causal-adversative clause.

In Greek, while the simple $\delta\varsigma$ with a verb may constitute a causal clause, the addition of a $\gamma\epsilon$ removes all doubt; and while, on the other hand, the simple $\delta\varsigma$ with a verb may constitute an adversative clause, the addition of a $\pi\epsilon\rho$ removes all doubt. In Latin, the indicative causal relative clause and the subjunctive causal relative clause practically stand in much the same relation as do $\delta\varsigma$ and $\delta\varsigma \gamma\epsilon$; and the two modes in the adversative clause stand in much the same relation as do $\delta\varsigma$ and $\delta\varsigma \pi\epsilon\rho$.

We may fairly say, then, that the indicative clause conveys

¹ It is worth noting that both these explanations find the genesis of the causal-adversative subjunctive in the consecutive clause, the one at its first stage, when its consecutive force was strong and clear, the other at a later stage, represented by (b), (c), and (d), in our sketch of the development of the consecutive-qualitative clause, pp. 90, 91.

the causal-adversative relation without expressing it, while the subjunctive clause expresses the relation.

In tracing the development of the consecutive-qualitative-classifying clause, I have assumed the possibility of the extension, under psychological influences, of the functions of a given construction. The position hardly needs defending to-day,¹ but I will nevertheless adduce, from the Greek and Latin, several clear cases of such extensions.

Quin (*why not?*) is used, like *cur non*, in questions. With either phraseology, the question has the effect of an exhortation. *Cur non* bears the clear marks of its interrogative nature, and the association of a hortatory idea with it is not sufficient to overcome that clear interrogative look. But *quin* has lost the interrogative look, and the hortatory idea, inherent in the construction of the *quin*-question as a whole, easily becomes associated with *quin* itself; the consequence of which is the logically impossible but psychologically natural joining of *quin* with an imperative.²

The analogy of the construction of the relative with the subjunctive after *dignus*, *aptus*, *idoneus*, brings about the same construction after *meretur* (*meretur qui eximatur*, Quintil. 10, 1, 74).

The Greek *ὀφελον*, a preterite indicative, like English *ought*, being naturally employed in statements which are in substance regrets for what is not, comes to have associated with it the feeling of a wish, and consequently takes the negative that belongs to the expression of a wish, instead of the *οὐ* logically belonging to its mode.

The use of the subjunctive in clauses of reason to indicate that the reason is stated by some one who is mentioned in the main clause leads to the occasional use of a *diceret*, etc., with an infinitive of the act stated, in place of a subjunctive of that

¹ See, *passim*, Ziemer, *Junggrammatische Streifzüge im Gebiete der Syntax* (1883, second edition), and Paul, *Principien der Sprachgeschichte* (1886, second edition).

² The subjunctive (as in Ter., Eun., 811: *Quin redeamus*) is, for some reason, extremely rare.

act, as in Cic., Off., 1, 13: *Rediit paulo post, quoa se oblitum nescio quid diceret.*

I add still another construction, which seems to me to be clearly a product of an intelligible psychological process, — the subjunctive *cur*-clause after verbs of accusing, being angry, and the like. The case of *cur* happens to be closely parallel to that of *quin* (= *cur non*). The negative interrogative, as we saw above, challenges the person addressed to give a reason why he does *not* do so and so, and becomes therefore in effect a sign of exhortation. The positive interrogative challenges the person addressed to give a reason why he *does* do so and so, and, while remaining an interrogative, with indicative or subjunctive according to its surroundings, yet becomes in effect a sign of reproach. Hence such combinations as *irascar cur properent* (Hor., Ep., 1, 8, 10), *accusas cur feram* (Cic., Fam., 3, 13, 2), *male dic Titio Sabino, cur tam temere exclamarit occisum* (Cic., Sest., 37, 80), *conquereretur cur Pisonem aditu arceret* (Tac., Ann., 15, 60), *sane ut illud queri possim cur me nondum ames quantum plurimum potest* (Fronto, p. 18, Naber).

These processes have a false appearance of elaborateness, owing to the fact that the grammatical structures concerned involve the use of a number of words. In reality, they are as simple as the process by which the French *pas*, originally a pure intensive, came, through frequent repetition in company with *ne*, to have a negative power of its own, as in *pas de* —, *pas du tout*, etc., and the process by which the Italian *cosa*, through frequent repetition in the phrase *Che cosa?*, came to have, in certain uses, an independent interrogative power.

My primary aim in examining the *qui*-constructions has been to prepare for the solution of the *quom*-constructions, and I have therefore omitted whatever did not bear upon the latter. I must not leave the treatment of the qualitative clauses, however, without adding that I believe that there are three distinct kinds, — (1) the one which we have had under discussion; (2) another of pure potential origin; (3) a third of jussive origin. The pure potential has nearly died out in

parataxis (it survives in the familiar, though not frequent, *aliquis dicat*), but has still an occasional use, it seems to me, in hypotaxis in qualitative clauses¹ expressing capacity, as in *est unde haec fiant*, Ter., Ad., 122. (On the strength of so good an example as this, I should certainly call subjunctives like the one in *suppeditat nobis ubi . . . animus . . . reficiatur*, Cic., Arch., 6, 12, potential qualitative clauses of capacity, rather than resort to an extension of a final sense.) As for the uses of the jussive, one can as well command the doing of an act that shows a quality as any other act, as in the English "*Try to get your pupil to write a description that shall have naturalness.*" Compare the following: —

Ad mare quom veni, **generosum** et **lene** (sc. vinum) requiro

Quod curas **abigat**, **quod** cum spe divite **manet**

In venas animumque meum, **quod** verba **ministret**.

Hor., Ep., 1, 15, 18-20. (I want a wine of a kind that shall . . .)

Pauca meo Gallo, sed **quae** **legat** ipsa Lycoris,

Carmina sunt dicenda.

Verg., Ecl., 10, 2 (Few, but **such that Lycoris shall read** them).

A few cases from Plautus like the following should be assigned to the jussive qualitative construction, rather than to the consecutive (1): —

Ad eam rem usust homine **astuto**, **docto**, **cauto** et **callido**,

Qui imperata ac facta **reddat**, non **qui** vigilans **dormiat**.

Plaut., Pseud., 386-7.

Lautam vis an **quae** nondum **sit** **lauta**?

Plaut., Mil., 787.

¹ This explanation appears to be substantially in harmony with the explanation of constructions of the optative without *ἄν* after *οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως*, *ὅστις*, and *ὅτε*, given by Mr. Sidgwick in his notes and appendices on Ag., 620, and Choeph., 172, and supported by Professor Jebb in his note and appendix on Oed. Tyr., 170, though neither writer uses the word "potential" in the discussion. If the construction in Latin be thought to be, like the constructions in Greek just cited, an extension of the true interrogative, yet, as in Greek, that interrogative itself is best explained as a true potential, not a conclusion with suppressed condition.

CHAPTER III.

THE *QUI*-CONSTRUCTIONS (CONTINUED) :

WORKING CATEGORIES AND TABLES.

IF the view of the growth of the subjunctive characterizing-qualitative-classifying and causal-adversative *qui*-clauses here taken is correct, it is idle to expect an absolute fixity of mode in any of these constructions, except that original one in which the subjunctive is inherent in the nature of the idea, and so could equally well stand independently. Rather shall we find a *development*, more or less complete, with greater or less ultimate stability of mode. The evidence that such a development has in fact taken place is at once afforded upon an examination of the literature.

Three categories appear, which follow.

The examples will be arranged in chronological order, according to the dates of death of their authors, except where some special point of contrast or similarity is to be made. So far as possible, they will be placed in pairs, according to similarity of contents, with indicatives on the left, and subjunctives on the right.

THE DEVELOPING CONSTRUCTIONS.

I. The developing subjunctive qualitative construction after indefinite antecedents.

*Examples of the undeveloped type
(indicative).*

Sunt quos scio esse amicos, **sunt quos**
suspikor,

Sunt quorum ingenia atque animos
nequeo noscere.

Plaut., Trin., 92-3. So Trin., 102 ;

*Examples of the type finally
reached by the development
(subjunctive).*

Est etiam ubi profecto damnum **prae-**
stet facere quam lucrum. Plaut., Capt.,

327.
Adfatim **est** hominum in dies **qui** sin-
gulas escas **edint**,

Capt., 262; Cas. Prol., 67; Pseud., 462; Ter., Eun., 2, 2, 17.

Tum si quis est qui dictum in se inclementius

Existumavit esse . . .

Ter., Eun., Prol., 4-5.

Si quis homines sunt quos delectat populi Romani res gestas describere. Cato ap. Pomp. in art. Donat, p. 254 Lind.

Sunt qui a Fratria [Fratres Arvales dictos esse] dixerunt. Varro, L. L., 5, 15, 25 (p. 89 Sp.); so R. R., 1, 1, 8.

Sunt autem qui putant nonnumquam complexione oportere supersederi. Cic., Inven., 1, 40, 72; so also 2, 55, 167; and elsewhere in Cicero's early writings.

Quibus negoti nihil est, qui essum neque vocantur neque vocant.

Plaut., Men., 446-7. (Note that both modes occur, and also that the phrase *adfatum est hominum* is a vaguer *sunt qui*.)

Pauci ex multis sunt amici homini qui certi sient. Plaut., Pseud., 391.

Quis erit vitio qui id vortat tibi?

Plaut., Epid., 113.

Si quisquamst qui placere se studeat bonis . . .

Ter., Eun., Prol., 1.

Concurrunt multae opinionem res quae mi animo exaugeant.

Ter., Heaut., 232.

Sunt etiam animalia in aqua quae in terram interdum exeant. Varro, L. L., 5, 13, 23 (p. 85 Sp.).

The proportion of subjunctive to indicative in these clauses in Varro is about 1 to 3.

Sunt qui nullum censeant fieri discessum. Cic., Tusc., 1, 9, 18.

The subjunctive, comparatively rare in Varro, becomes in Cicero the habitual mode.¹

¹ A passage the meaning of which is disputed is Caes., B. G., 4, 10, 5:

Quarum [insularum] pars magna a feris barbarisque nationibus incolitur, ex quibus sunt qui piscibus atque ovis avium vivere existimantur.

Riemann, Syntaxe Latine, p. 327, takes the relative clause to mean *those people who*. Riemann's opinion carries great weight, but I should like to present the evidence upon which, as a whole, I incline to believe the meaning to be *there are people who*.

Let us suppose we had a variant *existimentur*. Then, I think, we should not hesitate to approve the subjunctive reading, and the meaning *there are people who*, for the following reasons:—

The determinative clause (*those who*) regularly deals with facts familiar to the hearer or reader, quite apart from the context, or, at least, with facts with which he has just been made familiar. But the whole passage before us has the air of aiming to acquaint the reader with the unknown.

The determinative phraseology (especially where the clause is not generalizing, is commonly *ii qui*, or, of things well known and striking, *illi . . . , qui*. Now Caesar, who is in the habit of writing with great clearness, would not be likely, if he meant *those who*, to depart from the regular way of saying it, in favor of another phraseology which has distinct associations of its own, of quite a different kind.

From the fact that the consecutive subjunctive became the fixed construction after negative antecedents, and spread to clauses after indefinite antecedents, the idea of negation and of indefiniteness would naturally come to be associated with the mode. The result would be a disposition to hold to the indicative if the antecedent were *definitely* conceived in the speaker's mind, — especially, therefore, after such words as *quidam*, *nonnulli*, *multi*. The phenomenon is a returning eddy in the onward flow of the development of the subjunctive construction. We shall then find both modes, under a similar phraseology.

Strictly, the examples given below should come later, under the head of constructions of contrasted meanings (p. 122 seq.); but it will be convenient not to separate them from the examples after *sunt qui*, etc.

SUB-CLASS.

The indicative after antecedents indefinitely expressed, but definitely conceived.

Sed permultos et ego novi, et, nisi me fallit animus, unusquisque vestrum, qui et ipsi incensi sunt studio . . . vitamque hanc rusticam . . . et honestissimam esse arbitrantur. Cic., Rosc. Am., 17, 48 (= a number of men of my acquaintance — of yours too, if I mistake not — are enamoured, etc.). So plurima sunt quae, Inv., 130-1.

The subjunctive after antecedents indefinitely expressed and conceived.

Sed erant permulti alii ex quibus id facillime scire posset. Cic., Mil., 17, 46.

Less important, but not to be overlooked, is the consideration that the word *existimantur* somewhat better fits an account of the unknown than a reference to the known.

The meaning, there *are people who*, would, then, seem much preferable if the manuscripts allowed a choice of mode, — in other words, seems in itself the natural meaning.

We have then to ask whether it is antecedently difficult to believe that Caesar might occasionally employ the archaic indicative in the *sunt qui* construction. The evidence on this question is twofold. First, the indicative undoubtedly occurs in an early writing of Cicero, and also was undoubtedly written by Varro some considerable time after Caesar wrote the passage under examination. These are important facts; though the chronology in Cicero's case, and the old-fashioned manner in Varro's case, should make us reason from them with caution. Second — and very important — Caesar himself commits an archaism at least equally striking in

Sunt enim quidam qui molestas amicitias **faciunt**, quom ipsi se contemni putant. Cic., Am., 20, 72. So Phil., 2, 19, 47; Liv., 22, 59, 9; Plaut., Pers., 491.

Duae sunt artes quae possunt locare homines in amplissimo gradu dignitatis, una imperatoris, altera oratoris boni . . . Ceterae tamen virtutes ipsae per se multum valent. . . . Cic., Mur., 14, 30. So **duae sunt res quae**, Or., 49, 163.

Sunt autem multi, et quidem cupidi splendoris et gloriae, **qui eripiunt** aliis quod aliis largiantur. Cic., Off., 1, 14, 43. So **multa sunt quae**, Att., 1, 18, 1; Cluent., 60, 167.

Sunt autem alii quos in luctu cum ipsa solitudine loqui saepe **delectat**, ut illa apud Ennium nutrix. Cic., Tusc., 3, 26, 63. So Off., 1, 30, 109.

Sunt autem quidam e nostris qui haec subtilius **velint** tradere, et **negent** satis esse . . . Cic., Fin., 1, 9, 31. So Tusc., 1, 49, 118; Verr., 2, 52, 128; Sen., Ben., 5, 4, 3.

In ea **sunt aedes sacrae complures**, sed **duae quae** longe ceteris **antecellant**: Dianae et . . . Minervae. Cic., Verr., 4, 53, 118. So **duo sunt quae**, Or., 55, 185; **duo tum excellabant qui**, Brut., 92, 317; **quattuor sunt capita quae**, Acad., 2, 56, 83.

Incidunt multae saepe causae **quae conturbent** animos utilitatis specie. Cic., Off., 3, 10, 40.

Sunt enim aliae causae quae plane efficiant nulla re adiuvante, **aliae quae** adiuvari **velint**. Cic., Top., 15, 59.

If a definite idea can lurk under so vague a phrase as *sunt alii qui*, it would seem entirely possible that the speaker might have it even when he omits the *alii*. Editors accept the indicative in Att., 10, 4, 11 (written in B. C. 49), *sunt autem quae praetcrii*, but now reject the indicative (wrongly, I am persuaded) in Off., 1, 24, 84, where the context easily allows us to believe that Cicero has definite persons in mind: *Quod genus peccandi vitandum est etiam in rebus urbanis; sunt enim qui, quod sentiunt, etsi optimum sit, tamen invidiae metu non audent dicere*.¹ Further, the indicative is defended by one *quom*-construction, in Cic., Off., 1, 10, 31 (see p. 169), and by later examples with *qui*: *Sunt clari hodieque et qui olim nominabuntur*, Quintil., 10, 1, 94 (Quintilian has certain men very

using the indicative in the narrative *cum*-clause in B. C., 3, 87, 7, and 2, 17, 3, and in B. G., 7, 35, 4-5. (See p. 205.)

This being so, it seems better to class the *qui existimantur* example under the present head, as one of the last relics of the archaic *qui*-construction, rather than force a difficult meaning for the passage, on the assumption that archaisms do not exist in Caesar's Latin.

¹ C. F. W. Müller (ad loc.) insists upon the subjunctive, and is supported by Schmalz, "Lateinische Syntax," § 242. The state of the text in Tusc., 1, 9, 18, and 3, 31, 76 (see Müller) is certainly unfavorable to my view.

definitely in mind); *Sunt apud quos adstrictum . . . genus plus fidei meretur*, Tac., Dial., 31; *Ac fuere quos per commercia venundatos et in nostram usque ripam mutatione ementium adductos indicium tanti casus inlustravit*, Tac., Agr., 28.

In poetry we may often doubt whether a given variation from the ordinary construction is due to a definite meaning, or to a love of the archaic or the unusual; but in *est qui non curat* (Ep., 2, 12, 182), and *est qui nec spernit* (Od. I, 1, 19-21), Horace would seem to have himself in mind. In *est ubi peccat* (Ep., 2, 1, 63), he must be archaizing.

Under the decay of the linguistic sense, a retrograde movement set in later in these constructions. See, e. g., *Si quis autem est qui propterea putat probabilius esse quod Tiro dixit, quoniam . . .*, Gell., 12, 3, 4; *Item inveniuntur raro syllabae quae acui desiderant*, Diomed., Keil, I, 433; *Sunt qui naturaliter non habent*, Pomp., Keil, 5, 126; *Est etiam quando optativum est*, Prisc., Keil, 3, 496; *Est quando dubitativum . . . significat*, Prisc., 18, 91.

The original causal-adversative clause, as we have seen, was either an indicative statement of character or situation, or a subjunctive statement that could stand alone, attached to an antecedent belonging to a clause that contained the statement of some action. The later consecutive-causal subjunctive, once well started upon its career through the loss of its original consecutive force, might in time have driven out the indicative and occupied the entire field of the causal and adversative relations. It remains to be seen, then, whether the persistence of the indicative in qualitative clauses attached to self-defining antecedents will operate as a check upon this movement, and prevent the subjunctive from becoming universal in the field of these relations.

I present a large list of examples from the Latin of Cicero's time and later, in the hope of correcting the common conception with regard to the modal usage in these clauses. In making my selections I have aimed in each pair to present the two modes under similar circumstances.

II. The developing causal-adversative construction after self-defining antecedents (i. e., in non-essential clauses).

Examples of the undeveloped type (indicative).

Stultus es, qui illi male aegre patere dici, qui facit.

Plaut., Bacch., 464. Similarly, Pers., 76; Bacch., 510; Trin., 1057.

Insanit hic quidem, qui ipse male dicit. Plaut., Men., 307.

Stulte feci, qui hunc amisi. Plaut., Mil., 1368.

Meritissimo eius quae volet faciemus, qui hosce amores Nostros dispulsos compulit. Plaut., As., 730-1.

At certe te hominem et **sycophantam** et **subdolum**,

Qui huc **advenisti** nos captatum. Plaut., Poen., 1029-30.

Fortunatum Nicobulum, qui illum **produxit** sibi. Plaut., Bacch., 452.

Tametsi pro imperio vobis quod dictum foret

Scibat facturos, **quippe** qui intellexerat

Vereri vos se et metuere.

Plaut., Am., Prol., 213. Similarly Truc., 49, Bacch., 369. (Goetz accepts Lambinus's emendation of *quo* for *qui* and *cui*.)¹

Praesertim quae non peperit, lacte non habet.

Cacc. Stat., 220, Ribb.

Examples of the developed type (subjunctive).

Ego **stulta** et mora multum, **Quae** cum hoc insano fabuler. Plaut., Mil., 372-3.

Sanus tu non es, qui furem me **voces**. Plaut., Aul., 762. Similarly, Men., 366, 432; Trin., 457.

Tu ecastor **erras**, quae quidem illum **exoptes**.

Plaut., Most., 189. Similarly, Ter., Ad., 66.

Merito hoc nobis fit, qui quidem huc **venerimus**. Plaut., Bacch., 1130.

Pol qui te **mala crux** agitatur, qui ad istunc modum

Alieno viris tuas **extentes** ostio. Plaut., Bacch., 582-3.

Edepol hominem **infelicem**, qui patronam **conprimat**. Plaut., As., 290.

Tox. Videor vidisse hic forma persimilem tui

Eadem statura.

Sag. **Quippe** qui frater siet. Plaut., Pers., 695-6.

Satine **nequam** sum, utpote qui hodie **inceperim**

Amare?

Plaut., Rud., 451-2. The MSS., *quod*. Similarly, Bacch., 511. (The passage is corrupt, but the MSS. agree on *utpote quod*.)

¹ Ussing takes *qui* as an adverb, referring to v. 738, his note to which is as follows: "*Quippe qui* Cod. B. Edd. vulgo corr. *quippe quae*, sed hoc potius coniunctivum requireret, vid. Pers., 698: *Quippe qui frater siet*." One cannot accept Ussing's reasoning. The causal subjunctive construction is not yet fixed, and the indicative is still found after this same phrase in as late writers as Sallust and Livy.

Heu me **miserum**, qui tuum animum
ex animo **spectavi** meo.

Ter., Andr., 646.

Non frustra meditantur, habent memorabile quod sit,

Nec mirum, penitus **quae** tota mente laborant.

Catull., 62, 13-14.

In pelago nautis ex undis ortus in undis
Sol fit uti videatur obire et condere lumen,
Quippe ubi nil aliud nisi aquam caelum-
que **tuentur**.

Lucr., 4, 432-4. Add 3, 430. (In 1, 617, the **quippe qui habebit** may be a part of the condition to which it is attached, as the subjunctive clearly is in 1, 994.)

Sed in **te** intuens, Brute, **doleo**, cuius
in adolescentiam per medias laudes quasi
quadrigis vehementem transversa **incurrit**
misera fortuna rei publicae. Cic., Brut.,
97, 331.

Tuam doleo vicem, cui ter proditae
patriae sustinendum **est** discrimen. Liv.,
23, 9, 11.

At vero **Aratus** Sicyonius **iure lau-**
datur, qui . . . clandestino introitu urbe
est potitus. Cic., Off., 2, 23, 81.

Qua in re **admodum** fuit **militum**
virtus **laudanda**, qui vectoriis gravi-
busque navigiis non intermisso remigandi
labore longarum navium cursum **adae-**
quarunt. Caes., B. G., 5, 8, 4. Similarly
Cic., Phil., 7, 8, 23; Sest., 3, 8; Plin., Ep.,
3, 7, 7.

Itaque **mihi**, qui plurimis officiis **sum**
cum Bruto et maxima familiaritate con-
iunctus, minus multa de illo dicenda
sunt. Cic., Phil., 10, 1, 2.

Id Sex. Naevius **non faceret**, qui
usque eo **fervet ferturque** avaritia, ut
de suis commodis aliquam partem velit
committere, ne quam partem huic pro-
pinquo suo ullius ornamenti relinquat?
Cic., Quinct., 11, 38.

Miseret tui me, **qui** hunc tantum homi-
nem **facias** inimicum tibi.

Ter., Eun., 802.

Hespere, **qui** caelo lucet **iucundior**
ignis?

Qui desponsa tua **firmes** conubia
flamma.

Catull., 62, 26-7.

Perpetuo tamen id fore clam **diffidere**
debet;

Quippe ubi se multi per somnia saepe
loquentes

Aut morbo delirantes protraxe **ferantur**.

Lucr., 5, 1157-9.

Iam **invideo** magistro tuo, **qui** te
tanta mercede, quantam iam proferam,
nihil sapere **doceat**. Cic., Phil., 2, 4, 8.

"O **fortunate**" inquit "adolescens
qui tuae virtutis Homerum praeconem
inveneris." Cic., Arch., 10, 24.

Quam ob rem in ista quidem re ve-
hementer **Sullam probo**, **qui** tribunis
pl. sua lege iniuriae faciendae potestatem
ademerit. Cic., Leg., 3, 9, 22.

Sic vestra ista **providentia repre-**
hendenda, **quae** rationem **dederit** iis
quos scierit ea perverse et improbe usu-
ros. Cic., N. D., 3, 31, 78.

Tu vero, **qui** et fortunas et liberos **ha-**
beas et nos ceterosque necessitudine et
benevolentia tecum coniunctissimos . . .
omnibus his de causis **debes** istam mo-
lestiam quam lenissime ferre. Cic., Fam.,
5, 18, 2.

Nihil habeo quod ad te scribam,
qui etiam eam epistolam, quam eram
elucubratus, ad te non **dederim**. Cic.,
Att., 7, 19.

Ciceronis epistolam tibi remisi: O te **ferreum, qui** illius periculis non **mo-**
veris. Cic., Att., 13, 30, 1.

Sed quid ago? inquit, aut sumne **sanus, qui** haec vos **doceo?** Cic., Ac. Post., 1, 5, 18.

Ex Martia non nulli in ipsa victoria conciderunt. O **fortunata** mors, quae naturae debita pro patria **est** potissimum reddita. Cic., Phil., 14, 12, 31.

Ille vir fuit: nos quidem **contem-**
nendi, qui auctorem **odimus**, acta **de-**
fendimus. Cic., Phil., 2, 37, 96.

Ingratus Cn. Pompeius, **qui** . . . hanc gratiam reipublicae **reddidit** . . . Sen., Ben., 5, 16, 4.

In culpa est animus, **qui** se non **effugit** umquam. Hor., Ep., 1, 14, 13. Similarly Plaut., As., 224.

Sed pater **in causa, cui** septima quae-
que **fuit** lux

Ignava et partem vitae non **attigit** ul-
lam. Iuv., 14, 105-6.

Qua re primum maximas **gratias** et **ago** et **habeo** Pisoni, **qui** non quid effi-
cere posset in re publica **cogitavit**, sed
quid facere ipse deberet. Cic., Phil., 1,
7, 15. Similarly 5, 13, 37; 10, 1, 1; Att.,
14, 17, 3; Sen., 14, 46.

Neque hoc Q. Catulum hominem sa-
pientissimum atque amplissimum **fugit**,
qui Cn. Pompeio viro fortissimo et claris-
simo de tribunicia potestate referente cum
esset sententiam rogatus, hoc initio **est**
summa cum auctoritate usus. Cic., Verr.,
Act. Pr., 15, 44.

Ego vero hunc non solum **impera-**
torem, sed etiam **clarissimum im-**
peratorem iudico, qui, quom aut morte
aut victoria se satis facturum rei publicae
spopondisset, alterum **fecit**, alterius di
immortales omen avertant! Cic., Phil.,
14, 9, 26. Similarly 3, 20, 46.

Quis Karthaginiensium **pluris fuit**
Hannibale consilio, virtute, rebus gestis,
qui unus cum tot imperatoribus nostris
per tot annos de imperio et de gloria
decertavit? Cic., Sest., 68, 142.

Me **caecum, qui** haec ante non **vi-**
derim! Cic., Att., 10, 10, 1. Similarly
Phil., 11, 6, 13; Fam., 3, 10.

Sed ego **insipientior . . . , qui**
quidem contra eos tam diu **disputem.**
Cic., Div., 2, 23, 51.

O hominem **fortunatum, qui** eius
modi nuntios seu potius Pegasos **habeat.**
Cic., Quinct., 25, 26.

Sed **stulti** sumus **qui** Drusum, **qui**
Africanum, Pompeium, nosmet ipsos cum
P. Clodio conferre **audeamus.** Cic.,
Mil., 8, 20.

Ferrei sumus, patres conscripti, **qui**
quicquam huic **negemus.** Cic., Phil., 8,
8, 25.

Magna culpa Pelopis, **qui** non **eru-**
dierit filium. Cic., Tusc., 1, 44, 107.

"Contemnisne leges Lycurgi?" re-
sponderit: "ego vero illi **maximam**
gratiam habeo, qui me ea poena **mul-**
taverit, quam sine mutatione et sine
versura possem dissolvere." Cic., Tusc.,
1, 42, 100. I have noted no other instance
of the subjunctive with this phraseology.

Neque vero hoc **fugit** sapientissimum
regem Philippum, **qui** hunc Alexandro
filio doctorem **accierit**, a quo eodem
ille et agendi acciperet praecepta et elo-
quendi. Cic., Or., 3, 35, 141.

Itaque factus est ille quidem consul,
sed a fide iustitiaque **discessit, qui** op-
timum et gravissimum civem, cuius lega-
tus et a quo missus esset, in invidiam
falso crimine **adduxerit.** Cic., Off., 3,
20, 81.

Ecquando tu **hominem ineptiorem**
quam tuum Cn. Pompeium **vidisti, qui**
tantas turbas, quom tam nugax esset,
commorit. Cic., Fam., 8, 15, 1.

Atque **ego, qui te confirmo**, ipse me **non possum**. Cic., Fam., 14, 4, 5.

Itaque **in luctu et squalore sum**, **qui provinciae, qui exercitui praesum**, **qui bellum gero**. Cic., Fam., 5, 1, 2.

Quae quidem **ego**, patres conscripti, **qui illa numquam probavi, tamen** ita conservanda concordiae causa arbitratus **sum**, ut . . . Cic., Phil., 1, 9, 23.

Ita **ego, qui me ostreis et muraenis facile abstinebam**, a beta et a malva deceptus **sum**. Cic., Fam., 7, 26, 2.

Etsi **egomet, qui te consolari cupio**, consolandus ipse **sum**. Cic., Fam., 5, 18, 1.

Cur **ego**, in **cuius** causa rei publicae salus **consistebat, defensus** postero anno **non sum**? Cic., Att., 7, 3, 4.

Caesar ipse, **qui illis fuerat** iratissimus, **tamen** propter singularem eius civitatis gravitatem et fidem cotidie aliquid iracundiae **remittebat**. Cic., Phil., 8, 6, 19.

Alter, **qui tamen** se **continuerat, tulerat** nihil, **senserat** tantum de re publica aliud atque homines expectabant, vir et bonus et innocens et bonis viris semper probatus . . . **non tenuit** eum locum quem. . . Cic., Sest., 53, 114.

Cum hoc, M. Lepide, **pax esse quae potest, cuius** ne supplicio quidem ullo satiari **videtur** posse populus Romanus? Cic., Phil., 13, 10, 21. Similarly, 2, 43, 111; 1, 9, 19.

Demus igitur **imperium** Caesari, sine **quo** res militaris administrari, teneri exercitus, bellum geri **non potest**. Cic., Phil., 5, 16, 45.

Cur senatum **cogor, quem laudavi** semper, **reprehendere**? Cic., Phil., 7, 4, 14. Similarly Sull., 11, 32.

Nam Parmenides . . . multaque (eiusdem) modi monstra; **quippe qui** bellum, **qui** discordiam, **qui** cupiditatem ceteraque generis eiusdem ad deum **revocat**. Cic., N. D., 1, 11, 28. (So the cdd.)

Namque **egomet, qui** sero ac leviter Graecas litteras **attigissem, tamen** . . . complures tum ibi dies **sum** propter navigandi difficultatem commoratus. Cic., De Or., 1, 18, 82.

Ego, qui, sicut omnes sciunt, in foro iudiciisque ita **verser** ut . . . , et **qui** omne tempus, quod mihi ab amicorum negotiis datur, in his studiis laboribusque **consumam . . . tamen** . . . quom illius mihi temporis venit in mentem, quo die citato reo mihi dicendum sit, non solum **commoveor** animo, sed etiam toto corpore **perhorresco**. Cic., Caecil., 13, 41.

Ego enim, qui ab ineunte aetate incensus **essem** studio utriusque vestrum, Crassi vero etiam amore, quom ab eo nusquam discederem, verbum ex eo numquam elicere **potui** de via ac ratione dicendi. Cic., De Or., 1, 21, 97.

Itaque **qui** in maxima celebritate atque in oculis civium quondam **vixerimus**, nunc . . . **abdimus** nos. Cic., Off., 3, 1, 3.

Tribuno plebis quaestor **non parui, isti, cui** tuus **praesertim** collega **pareret**. Cic., Fam., 15, 21, 2.

An hoc **negare potes, qui** omnis moras **interponas**, quibus infirmetur Brutus, melior fiat Antonius? Cic., Phil., 8, 6, 17.

At hi miserrimo ac patientissimo exercitu Caesaris **luxuriem obiciebant, cui** semper omnia ad necessarium usum **defuissent**. Caes., B. C., 3, 96, 2.

Homo Ligurem **accusare coepit, qui** in re adventicia atque hereditaria tam diligens, tam attentus **esset**. Cic., Verr., 1, 48, 126.

"Convivia cum patre non inibat;" **quippe qui** ne in oppidum quidem nisi perraro **veniret**. Cic., Rosc. Am., 18, 52.

Auct. Bell. Afr. has *quippe qui* once (§ 19), with the subjunctive. Nepos

Video . . . magis legionibus opus esse quam provinciis, **quae praesertim** recuperari nullo negotio **possunt**. Asin. Poll., ap. Cic., Fam., 10, 32.

Ea nos, **utpote qui** nihil contemnere **solemus** [non contemnebamus, sed], non pertimescebamus. Cic., Att., 2, 24, 4. (So the cdd; Orell., *soleamus*. The reading is made less sure by the fact that the passage bears marks of corruption; yet it has the support of Tac., G., 22, 1, cited below.)

Igitur imperator omnis fere res asperas per Iugurtham agere, in amicis habere, magis magisque in dies amplecti, **quippe cuius** neque consilium neque inceptum ullum frustra **erat**. Sall., Iug., 7, 6. (So always with *quippe qui* in Sallust: cf. Cat., 48, 2; Jug., 1, 3; 7, 6; 14, 10; 20, 6; 28, 1; 48, 1; 76, 1; 85, 32; 86, 3.)

Livy (who is at once an innovator and a man of archaistic likings) has the indicative a number of times, though the subjunctive predominates:

Discessere socii pro tristi nuntio tristiores domum referentes, **quippe quibus** per se sustinendum bellum **erat**. Liv., 3, 6, 6. Hildebrand (Progr. Dortmund, 1865) counts 19 subjunctives, and 6 indicatives.

Neminem Lycurgo aut maiorem aut utiliorem virum Lacedaemon genuit: **utpote cui** Apollo Pythius oraculum petenti respondisse **fertur**. . . . Val. Max., 5, 3, 2 ext.

Statim e somno, quem plerumque in diem extrahunt, lavantur, saepius calida, **ut apud quos** plurimum hiems **occupat**. Tac., G., 22, 1. (Only here subjunctive.)

Alica cum mulso et nive (nam **hanc quoque computabis, immo hanc in primis, quae periit** in ferculo). Plin., Ep., 1, 15, 2. Cf. the following:—

Quamquam illud fuit, ut dicebas quidem, omnibus bono, qui servire nolebant, **tibi tamen praecipue, qui** non modo **non servis**, sed etiam **regnas**. Cic., Phil., 2, 14, 35; similarly Rosc. Am., 33, 94.

also has it once (Dion, 2, 3), with the subjunctive. Caesar employs neither this, nor *utpote qui*, but has *ut qui*, always with subjunctive.

Lucius quidem frater eius, **utpote qui** peregre **depugnarit**, familiam ducit. Cic., Phil., 5, 11, 30.

Neque tamen Antonius procul aberat, **utpote qui** magno exercitu locis aequioribus expeditus tardatos in fuga **sequebatur**. Sall., Cat., 57, 4.

Multis id cladibus sensimus, **quippe qui** non nostro merito sed vestra patientia incolumes **simus**. Liv., 2, 37, 5.

Res est praeterea et immensi operis, **ut quae** supra septingentesimum annum **repetatur**. Liv., Praef., 4. So always in Livy. (*Utpote qui* does not occur.)

Nam neque opere emunitus erat, **ut ubi** ipsius loci ac stagni praesidio satis creditum **foret**, nec. . . . Liv., 26, 46, 2. (*Quippe ubi* occurs in 26, 48, 11, but in the *oratio obliqua*.)

Nam pleraque Latino sermone interiaciebat, **ut qui** Romanis in castris ductor popularium **meruisset**. Tac., Ann., 2, 10. (*Quippe qui* occurs only in Agr. 18, and with the subjunctive. *Utpote qui* does not occur.)

It seems to me evident that a revision of opinion is necessary in regard to the use of the modes in these clauses in classical Latin. In two respects the subjunctive has gained since Plautus's time: it has become the habitual mode after *ut qui*, *utpote qui*, and *quippe qui*, since it is in the nature of these phrases to call special attention to the existence of the causal relation, and the *explicit* construction is therefore natural; and it is also the habitual (though not universal) mode after adjectives indicating qualities the operation of which would bring about the act of the *qui*-clause, — *i. e.*, in clauses standing nearest to those of our assumed causal-adversative genesis of the construction. Yet even here striking exceptions occur; while in other styles of clauses the indicative appears to be freely used. We may therefore say that any causal-adversative subjunctive which we find in Latin in a *qui*-clause not introduced by *ut*, *utpote*, or *quippe* may be converted into an indicative, and the construction still remain sound Latin, that would not have attracted Cicero's notice if he had heard it. And even in the *ut qui*, *utpote qui*, and *quippe qui* clauses the indicative must have been occasionally heard, not only in the popular, but also in the educated speech of his time.¹ Yet such statements as these would seem to the undergraduate student to be in direct contradiction to the teaching of the grammars.

Except in the two classes which I have mentioned, the usage of the modes in causal-adversative *qui*-clauses does not appear to have changed after the Plautine time. Only a count on a large scale could determine whether there is any change of proportion between the indicative and the subjunctive examples. But in any case such a count would exhibit indicatives in abundance.

I add examples from Cicero which seem to me to illustrate

¹ Emendation has been too busy in these clauses. It seems to me clear that, having in mind Pollio's *quae praesertim possunt*, Valerius's *utpote cui fertur*, Tacitus's *ut apud quos occupat*, Livy's six indicatives with *quippe qui*, and Sallust's unvarying employment of the indicative after the last phrase, we must allow the indicative, *revocat*, attested by all the cdd., to stand after *quippe qui* in the passage from Cic., N. D., I, 11, 28, cited above. And even in Att., 2, 24, 4 (*utpote qui — solemus*), doubt should stop short of rejection.

fairly his actual usage. In each passage both modes are used, under a similar phraseology: —

Quid enim non debeo vobis, Quirites, quem vos a se ortum hominibus nobilissimis omnibus honoribus praetulistis? An ingratus sum? **Quis minus? qui** partis honoribus eosdem in foro **gessi** labores quos petendis? Rudis in republica? **Quis exercitator? qui** viginti iam annos bellum **geram** cum impiis civibus? Cic., Phil., 6, 6, 17, 18.

Nam quid de Cyro **nuntiaret**, quem Clodius Roma proficiscens **reliquerat** morientem? Una fui, testamentum simul obsignavi cum Clodio; testamentum autem palam fecerat et illum heredem et me scripserat. **Quem** pridie hora tertia animam efflantem **reliquisset**, eum mortuum postridie hora decima denique ei **nuntiabatur?**

A fair statement of the classical usage would seem to be as follows: the indicative causal-adversative clause (which has as good a right to the name as the corresponding indicative clause in Greek) is freely employed to convey the causal-adversative idea without expressly calling attention to it, while the subjunctive is employed to call distinct attention to it.

It is evident, then, that only the first examples under the present category, together with the examples after *ut qui*, *utpote qui*, and *quippe qui*, really belong under the head of the *developing* constructions. The indicative and the subjunctive are both in fixed use, but differ from each other in that the one tacitly conveys what the other explicitly conveys. The greater part of our examples should therefore be classed under the general division of *contrasting uses* of the two moods, and must be understood as now relegated to that division, which forms the subject of the latter part of this chapter. The special heading would be: —

The tacit causal-adversative <i>clause (indicative).</i>	The explicit causal-adversative <i>clause (subjunctive).</i>
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An especially unstable — one might say unsuccessful — construction is the classifying subjunctive. The movement of the qualitative subjunctive at this extreme did not succeed in making any serious inroad upon the true territory of the determinative clause.

The so-called restrictive construction lies close to the classifying (perhaps a little farther back in the development), and will be included here.

III. The developing classifying construction.

Examples of the underdeveloped (strictly determinative) type.

Prodidisti et te et illam miseram et gnatum, **quod quidem** in te **fuit**. Ter., Ad., 692. So always with this phraseology; e. g. Cic., Dom. Sua, 13, 34.

Similar phrases with *quantum* have always the indicative; ¹ e. g. Cic., N. D., 3, 7, 15; Arch., 1, 1; likewise phrases like *quod ad te attinet*, Cic., Clu., 1, 4; Sen., Rhet. Suas. 7, 1; and phrases like *quod* (or *quantum*) *potui*, *poteris*, etc., Cic., Fam., 1, 9, 10; Att., 1, 4, 1; 1, 5, 7 (in Fam., 3, 5, 4, the subjunctive is dependent); Sest., 67, 170; Phil., 2, 10, 23; Liv., 43, 15, 8.

Quid reliquist quin habeat, **quae quidem** in homine **dicuntur** bona? Ter., Haut., 193.

Omnia enim, **quae quidem** intus inclusa **sunt**, ita nata atque ita locata sunt, ut. . . Cic., N. D., 2, 47, 121.

Ceteri Graeci Latinique auctores, **quorum quidem** ego **legi** annales. . . tradunt. Liv., 32, 6, 8.

Catonem vero quis nostrorum oratorum, **qui quidem** nunc **sunt**, legit? Cic., Brut., 17, 65.

Venio ad epistolas tuas, quas ego sescentas uno tempore accepi, aliam alia iucundiorum, **quae quidem** erant tua manu. Cic., Att., 7, 2, 3.

Bello perfecto ab **iis** Caesar haec cognovit, **qui** sermoni **interfuerunt**. Caes., B. C., 3, 18, 5.

Examples of the developed classifying or restrictive type.

Sed omnium oratorum sive rabularum, qui et plane indocti et inurbani aut rustici etiam fuerunt, **quos quidem** ego **cognoverim**, solutissimum in dicendo et acutissimum iudico nostri ordinis Q. Sertorium. Cic., Brut., 48, 180.

Refertae sunt orationes amplius centum quinquaginta, **quas quidem** adhuc **invenerim** et **legerim**, et verbis et rebus illustribus. Cic., Brut., 17, 65.

Antiquissimi fere sunt, **quorum quidem** scripta **constent**, Pericles atque Alcibiades. Cic., De Or., 2, 22, 93. Similarly Tusc., 1, 16, 38.

Acta enim Caesaris pacis causa confirmata sunt a senatu: **quae quidem** Caesar **egisset**, non ea, **quae** egisse Caesarem **dixisset** Antonius. Cic., Phil., 2, 39, 100.

The indicative, then, is not rare in phrases of this kind with *qui quidem*, but the subjunctive is much more frequent.

Qui ex ipso **audissent**, quom Sicyone palam multis audientibus loqueretur, nefaria quaedam ad me **pertulerunt**. Cic., Att., 11, 10, 2.

¹ *Quantum* occurs with *sciam*, however, under the influence of *quod sciam*: *Quantum ego quidem sciam*. Quintil., 3, 1, 19.

Omnes qui libere de republica **sen-**
simus, qui dignas nobis sententias **dixi-**
mus, qui populum Romanum liberum
esse **voluimus**, statuit ille quidem non
inimicos, sed hostis. Cic., Phil., 11, 1, 3.

Quoniam Graecorum oratorum **prae-**
stantissimi sint ei qui fuerunt Athe-
nis. . . . Cic., Opt. Gen. Or., 4, 13.

An si inter **eos quos** numquam **vidi-**
mus floruisset. . . . Plin., Ep., 1, 16, 8.

At Cinna . . . praecidi caput iussit . . .
M. Antonii, **omnium** eloquentissimi,
quos ego audierim. Cic., Tusc., 5,
19, 55.

Reliqui sunt, **qui** mortui **sint**, L. Tor-
quatus. . . . Cic., Brut., 76, 265.

Quae res et latus unum castrorum ripis
fluminis munebat et post eum **quae es-**
sent tuta ab hostibus reddebat. Caes.,
B. G., 2, 5, 5. (A very rare construction.)

Supersunt, **qui** de philosophia **scrip-**
serint. Quintil., 10, 1, 123.

Eorum quos viderim Domitius Afer
et Iulius Secundus longe praestantissimi.
Quintil., 10, 1, 118.

Habent sane aetatem **eorum qui** nu-
per togas **sumpserint**. Plin., Ep., 2,
14.

The construction reaches its (legiti-
mate) extreme in the last six examples.¹

Constructions like *quod sciam* and *quod commodum tuo fiat* are commonly classed as restrictive, and referred to the general head of consecutive clauses.

The latter class may belong to an early stage of the consecutive construction, viz., the subjunctive of an ideal assertion, capable of standing independently (so that the meaning would be, *As far as would be done with convenience to yourself* = *As far as would be consistent with your convenience*). But I am more inclined to regard the construction as descended from the pure potential use of the subjunctive, — a use which seems to have played a larger part in preliterate Latin than is generally assigned to it (compare Homeric Greek), and, though it disappeared in independent sentences except in a few phrases like *aliquis dicat*, to have left traces of itself in a number of dependent clauses. Possibly the variant *quod commodum tuo facere poteris* may be regarded as confirming the suggestion of a potential basis in *quod . . . fiat*.

The case of *quod sciam* is still more difficult. If the phrase

¹ The construction in *Auc. Bell. Afr.*, 35 (*Quibus rebus Scipio quique cum eo essent comites mirari et requirere*), has gone so far beyond a legitimate extension that Riemann well characterizes it as *absolument incorrect* (*Syntaxe Latine*, p. 325).

had first appeared at about the same time with clauses like *quos quidem cognoverim*, we might suppose it to be, like those clauses, a product of the repeated use of the consecutive subjunctive in clauses expressive of character, and so practically *classifying*. But the fact that it meets us in Plautus (Amph., 749; Ep., 637; Men., 295, 500), and has no near relation in any sure consecutive clause in him, seems to make the soundness of the common classification doubtful.

A few words must be added before we leave the developing constructions. Within the limits laid down in the last chapter, the qualitative subjunctive became so firmly established that examples of the indicative under the same circumstances of predication or virtual predication are extremely rare. I have noted only two. The second is remarkable: —

Talía divino fuderunt **carmine** fata,
Carmine, perfidiae **quod** post nulla **arguet** aetas.

Catull., 64, 322-3.

Amisit enim filiam **quae** non minus mores eius quam os voltumque **referebat** totumque patrem mira similitudine **exscripserat**. Plin., Ep., 5, 16, 9.

Thus far we have studied types of clauses in which a development is seen to have taken place. We have still to study types in which the indicative and the subjunctive, under the same phraseology, present contrasting ideas. In the class next following, the contrast is slight; in the remaining classes, it is marked.

CONTRASTING CONSTRUCTIONS.

The qualitative sentence is in its origin in close connection with the word to which it belongs. At the opposite extreme lies the entirely disconnected (forward-moving) relative clause, which might equally well be introduced by the demonstrative. Midway between the extremes lie clauses in which either feeling may prevail,—just as we may begin a fairy story with the words “Once there was a king, and he was very cruel,” or with the words “Once there was a king, who was very cruel.” In the former example we first have the bare existence of the king set

before our minds, and then proceed to the details of the story. In the latter we have the characterizing act and the existence of the person characterized presented in the same breath.

The former feeling is illustrated in the following, in which the *quae*-clause stands on precisely the same footing as the *haec*-clause: —

Sed in eis erat Sempronia, **quae** multa saepe virilis audaciae facinora **commiserat**. **Haec** mulier genere atque forma, praeterea viro liberis satis fortunata fuit. Sall., Cat., 25, 1-2.

This construction is of course possible after both definite and indefinite antecedents, and alike after verbs of mere existence and verbs representing activities. In the latter case a causal-adversative bearing of the subordinate clause upon the main clause will in most cases naturally exist; and it may exist even in the former case, — *e. g.* through a contrast or harmony of two attributes.

The antitheses to these constructions are the qualitative clause and the fully expressive causal-adversative clause.

IV. The loosely attached (added or inserted) qualitative clause (indicative) versus the closely attached qualitative or causal-adversative clause (subjunctive).

A. — WITHOUT CAUSAL-ADVERSATIVE BEARING.

Loosely attached qualitative clause.

Erat etiam alia gravis atque vehemens opinio, **quae** (proceeds to tell us what it had done, and *this = ea autem*) animos gentium barbararum **pervaserat**, fani . . . diripiendi causa . . . nostrum esse exercitum adductum. Cic., Manil., 9, 23.

Fuit enim, ut scriptum video, **Arganthonius** quidam Gadibus, **qui** octoginta **regnauerat** annos, centum viginti vixerat. Cic., Sen., 19, 69. Cf. the following: —

Fuit haud ignobilis Argis,
Qui se **credebat** miros audire tragoe-
dos,
In vacuo laetus sessor plausorque thea-
tro;

Closely attached qualitative clause.

Profecto fuit quaedam vis **quae** generi **consuleret** humano. Cic., Tusc., 1, 49, 118.

Novistine locum potiore **rure** beato?

Est ubi plus **tepeant** hiemes . . . ?

Est ubi **divellat** somnos minus invida
cura?

Hor., Ep., 1, 10, 14-18.

Cetera **qui** vitae **servaret** munia recto
More, **bonus** sane vicinus, **amabilis**
hospes,

[Continuation opposite.] The introduction is in the style of the fairy story cited above: "There was a man at Argos, of no mean birth. Now, this man had a fancy," etc. Then, as a number of characterizations are added, the feeling expresses itself in the ordinary way.¹

Relinquebatur **una** per Sequanos **via**, **qua** Sequanis invitis propter angustias ire non **poterant**. Caes., B. G., 1, 9, 1. The meaning is not "there was left only one impossible-to-go-out-by way," but "there was left only the way through the country of the Sequani, and by this it was impossible to go," etc.

Comis in uxorem, **posset qui** ignoscere servis

Et signo laeso non insanire lagenae,

Posset qui rupem et puteum vitare patientem.

Hor., Ep., 2, 2, 128-35.

Erant omnino **itinera duo**, **quibus** itineribus domo exire **possent**: unum per Sequanos, angustum et difficile, inter montem Iuram et flumen Rhodanum, vix qua singuli carri ducerentur. Caes., B. G., 1, 6, 1.

B. — WITH CAUSAL-ADVERSATIVE BEARING.

Causal-adversative bearing, tacitly conveyed.

Consules designati negabant se audere in senatum venire; patriae liberatores urbe carebant ea, cuius a cervicibus iugum servile deiecerant, **quos tamen** ipsi consules et in contionibus et in omni sermone **laudabant**. Cic., Phil., 1, 2, 6.

Causal-adversative bearing, explicitly conveyed.

Ita propria est ea praeceptio Stoicorum, Academicorum, Peripateticorum, quoniam Aristonis, Pyrrhonis, Erilli iam pridem explosa sententia est, **qui tamen haberent** ius suum disputandi de officio, si rerum aliquem dilectum reliquissent, ut ad officii inventionem aditus esset. Cic., Off., 1, 2, 6.

It will be noticed that the indicative examples of the first sub-class are simply instances of the semi-disconnecting use of clauses which would otherwise come under Category I, and that the indicative examples of the second sub-class stand similarly related to Category II.

An act which is in its contents characterizing may be adduced either to tell *what kind* of a man, *e.g.*, the antecedent is (qualitative idea), or to make the hearer understand *who* the antecedent is (determinative idea). If the former is to be

¹ Such a change from the looser to the closer construction is not common. The opposite change, seen in the following, is more natural:—

Quamquam **non nulli sunt** in hoc ordine, **qui** aut ea quae imminent **videant** aut ea quae vident **dissimulant**; **qui** spem Catilinae mollibus sententiis **aluerunt** coniurationemque nascentem non credendo **conrobaverunt**. Cic., Cat., 1, 12, 30.

expressed, the subjunctive will be employed; if the latter, the indicative.

The difference, then, is merely that of the use of a given occurrence for the one purpose rather than the other. Both ideas cannot be expressed by a single verb in a single mode. But the unexpressed idea will nevertheless ordinarily suggest itself to the hearer's mind. A more exact classification, then, would call the one construction *primarily determinative and incidentally qualitative*, and the other *primarily qualitative and incidentally determinative*.

Of the determinative indicative constructions, there will be found to be five types. The first three (V., VI., VII.) determine an individual antecedent; the last two (VIII., IX.) a general antecedent.

If the main verb indicates an activity, the act of the subordinate verb, whether indicative or subjunctive, naturally has a causal or adversative bearing. Qualitative clauses and explicit causal-adversative clauses consequently fall together through a good part of this somewhat small territory.

V. Determinative (indicative) clauses versus qualitative (subjunctive) clauses, without or with causal-adversative bearing.

A. — WITHOUT CAUSAL-ADVERSATIVE BEARING.

The indicative determines the person or thing in question.

Haec sunt fere, quae dicenda videbantur de verborum exornationibus. Cornif., 4, 34, 46.

Nascitur, iudices, causa Cornelii ex ea lege, **quam** L. Gellius Cn. Cornelius ex senatus sententia tulerunt. Cic., Balb., 8, 19.

Cum **iis** est vobis, milites, pugnandum, **quos** terra marique priore bello **vicistis**. Liv., 21, 40, 5. Similarly, Tac., Agr., 34; Cic., Phil., 8, 2, 6. The speaker

The subjunctive expresses the nature or condition of the person or thing in question.

Haec sunt, quae conturbent in deliberatione non numquam. Cic., Off., 3, 20, 81.

Vitam **quae** faciant beatiorē
Iucundissime Martialis, **haec sunt**.

Mart., 10, 47.

Quem etiam ad censuram petendam impulisti, **eamque** petitionem comparasti, quae et risus hominum et querelas **moveret**. Cic., Phil., 2, 38, 98.

Cum **eo** hoste res est, **qui** hesterno die delendi omnis exercitus fortuna per socordiam usus non **sit**, hunc tam opportunum collem imminentem capiti suo non

rhetorically contents himself with identifying the enemy, without pointing out that the fact adduced to identify them also shows their character.

Tum primum reperta sunt **quae** per tot annos rem publicam **exedere**. Tac., Ann., 2, 27 (. . . the things which . . .).

Tu es enim **is**, **qui** me tuis sentiis saepissime **ornasti**, qui oratione, qui praedicatione . . . ad caelum extulisti. Cic., Fam., 15, 4, 11. Similarly, Pis., 8, 17; Verr., 3, 30, 71. (The feeling of the relative clause is well exhibited in the following:—

Et ego Piso, inquam, **si est quisquam**, **qui** acute in causis videre **soleat**, quae res agatur, **is es** profecto **tu**. Cic., Fin., 5, 26, 78. Similarly, Fam., 6, 14, 1; 15, 14, 13. Compare the English:

I only am **the** man
Among all married men
That do not wish the priest
To be unlinked again.

John Maynard, Twelve Wonders of the World.)

"Ista quidem sententia," inquit, "**ea** est, **quae** neque amicos **parat** nec inimicos **tollit**." Liv., 9, 3, 12.

Three plans have been mentioned. Out of the three, the old man declares that the one which his son advocates — *ista sententia* — is precisely *the one* that accomplishes neither one thing nor the other. Compare the English:—

France is **the** country **where** reactions **are** most rapid and most violent. John Morley, Voltaire, cap. 15.

ante **viderit** quam captum a nobis. Liv., 7, 35, 5. The facts are adduced to show the character of the enemy. Similarly, Cic., Phil., 4, 5, 11; 4, 6, 14.

Ubi **eos** invenimus, **qui** honores magistratus imperia potestates opes amicitiae non **anteponant**? Cic., Am., 17, 63.

Neque enim tu **is es**, **qui** quid sis **nescias**. Cic., Fam., 5, 12, 6.

Equidem **is** sum, **qui** istos plausus, quom popularibus civibus tribuerentur, semper **contempserim**. Cic., Phil., 1, 15, 37. So very frequently.

Ea est Romana gens, **quae** (= talis est ut) victa quiescere **nesciat**. Liv., following the passage opposite.

Inter quos referendus erit? **veteresne** poetas,
An **quos** et praesens et postera **respuat** aetas?

Hor., Ep., 2, 1, 41-42

The two kinds of feeling are interestingly combined in the following:—

Agimus **ei**, **quorum** maxime **interest** pacem esse, et **qui**, quodcumque egerimus, ratum civitates nostrae habiturae **sint**. Liv., 30, 30, 9. (We are *the persons who* are especially interested in securing peace, and we are *persons whose* acts our states will ratify.)

B. — WITH CAUSAL-ADVERSATIVE BEARING.¹*Primarily determinative, but incidentally qualitative.*

Taceant, inquit, quibus Italia no-verca **est**. Val. Max., 6, 2, 3, 9.

Qui parentem meum [**interfecer**]un[t, eo]s in exilium **expuli** iudiciis legitimis ultus eorum [fa]cin[us]. Mon. Ancyr., c. 2, 10, 11.

Exclusi eos, quos tu ad me salutatum **miseras** (for the real purpose of assassinating me). Cic., Cat., 1, 4, 10.

Etenim si in leviorum artium studio memoriae proditum est poetas nobilis poetarum aequalium morte doluisse, quo tandem animo **eius** interitum ferre debui, cum **quo** certare **erat** gloriosius quam omnino adversarium non habere? Cic., Brut., 1, 3.

Sed facile est bene agere cum **eis**, a quibus etiam tacentibus flagitari **vide-mur**. Cic., Phil., 14, 11, 30.

Est istuc quidem nomen aetatis, sed ab **eo** minime usurpandum, **qui** suam amen-tiam puero huic **praebet** ad gloriam. Cic., Phil., 13, 11, 24.

O beatos illos, qui, quom adesse ipsis propter vim armorum non licebat, **ade-rant** tamen et in medullis populi Romani ac visceribus **haerebant**! Cic., Phil., 1, 15, 36.

Beatusne igitur **qui** hos **interficiit**? Cic., Tusc., 5, 19, 55.

Felix, qui **potuit** rerum cognoscere causas.

Primarily qualitative and causal adversative, but incidentally determinative.

Eam **complexus** est causam, quae **esset** senatui, quae populo, quae cunctae Italiae, quae dis hominibusque gratis-sima. Cic., Phil., 5, 16, 44.

Mandatum tuum curabo diligenter; sed homo acutus **ei** **mandasti** potissi-mum, **cui** **expediret** illud venire quam plurimo. Cic., Fam., 7, 2, 1.

Neque quom edixi ne quis iniussu meo proficisceretur, **exclusi** eos, **qui** me in castra et qui trans Taurum persequi non **possent**. Cic., Fam., 3, 8, 4.

Haec non erant **eius, qui** innumera-bilis mundos infinitasque regiones . . . mente **peragravisset**. Cic., Fin., 2, 31, 102.

Evenit facile, **quod** diis cordi **esset**. Liv., 1, 39, 3.

Nihil est enim tam alienum ab **eo, qui** alterum coniurationis **accuset**, quam videri coniuratorum poenam mortemque lugere. Cic., Sull., 10, 31.

O sordidos, qui **acceperint, im-probum, qui** **dederit**! Cic., Phil., 6, 5, 14.

. . . luvatque novos decerpere flores
Insignemque meo capiti petere **inde**
coronam,

¹ Some of the subjunctive examples here cited may lic (one surely does lic, viz. *O sordidos*, etc.) beyond the strict limits of the qualitative construction, and be simply causal-adversative. In this case they are descendants of an older off-shoot of the consecutive-qualitative clause (viz. the consecutive-justifying clause), and are consequently only remotely related to the full qualitative *and* causal-adversative clause which forms the subject of the present division. The causal-adversative feeling is a free lance in relative clauses, and may at any time control the mode.

Fortunatus et ille, deos **qui novit** agrestis.

Verg., Georg., 2, 490, 493.

Et ad **eum** legatos de pace mittemus, **qui** pacis nuntios **repudiavit**? Cic., Phil., 12, 5, 11.

Sed idem in **eis** elaborant, **quae sciunt** nihil ad se omnino pertinere. Cic., Sen., 7, 24.

Cur **eos quos** omnes paene venerari **debemus**, solus oppugnas? Cic., Phil., 10, 2, 4.

Aut geometres cernere **ea** potest, **quae** aut nulla **sunt** aut internosci a falsis non **possunt**. Cic., Ac. Pr., 2, 7, 22.

Pictor videt **quae** nos non **videmus**. Cic., Ac. Pr., 2, 27, 87.

Non metuo ne **is, qui** suis amplissimis fortunis nisi bonis salvis frui non **potest**, prodat salutem suam. Cic., Phil., 13, 8, 10.

Non efficietis, inquit, ut solutos verear **quos** alligatos **adduxi**. Val. Max., 6, 2, 3, 9. Compare the English:—

Why should the vest on him allure

That I could not on me endure?

Emerson, The Problem.

Unde prius nulli **velarint** tempora Musae.

Lucr., 4, 2-5.

Absolvite **eum, qui** se **fateatur** maximas pecunias cum summa sociorum iniuria cepisse. Cic., Verr., 3, 95, 221.

Pecunias **profundunt** in **eas** res, **quarum** memoriam aut brevem aut nullam omnino **sint** relicturi. Cic., Off., 2, 16, 55.

Cur quom te et vita et fortuna tua ad otium, ad dignitatem invitet, **ea** decernis, **ea** sentis, **quae sint** inimica et otio communi et dignitati tuae? Cic., Phil., 10, 1, 3.

At ille nescio qui, qui in scholis nominari solet, mille et octingenta stadia **quod abesset** videbat. Cic., Ac. Pr., 2, 25, 81.

Cupiditates porro quae possunt esse in **eo, qui**, ut ipse accusator obiecit, ruri semper **habitarit** et in agro colendo **vixerit**, quae vita maxime disiuncta a cupiditate est et cum officio coniuncta? Cic., Rosc. Am., 14, 39.

Otio fruor, non illo quidem, quo debebat **is qui** quondam **peperisset** otium civitati . . . Cic., Off., 3, 1, 3.

The demonstratives *talis*, *tantus*, and *tot* may be followed by a clause which *defines* the character, the magnitude, or the number (introduced by *qualis*, *quantus*, and *quot*), or by a clause which *exhibits the workings* of the character, the magnitude, or the number (introduced by the consecutive *qui*).

Determinative.

Utinam in Ti. Graccho Gaioque Carbone **talis** mens ad rem publicam bene gerendam fuisset, **quale** ingenium ad bene dicendum **fuit**: profecto nemo his viris gloria praestitisset. Cic., Brut., 27, 103.

Consecutive.

Nam est innocentia adfectio **talis** animi, **quae noceat** nemini. Cic., Tusc., 3, 8, 16. (In Iuv., 5, 151-2, *qualia habebat* and *quae possis* appear side by side.)

Hoc brevissime dicam, neminem umquam tam impudentem fuisse, qui ab dis immortalibus **tot** et **tantas** res tacitus anderet optare, **quot** et **quantas** di immortales ad Cn. Pompeium **detulerunt**. Cic., Manil., 16, 48.

Nec vero ulla vis imperii **tanta** est, **quae** premente metu **possit** esse diuturna. Cic., Off., 2, 7, 25.

In the next category the indicative is simply a rhetorical form of the determinative indicative just seen. The speaker, in place of expressing a causal or adversative bearing in his subordinate clause, first merely sets up a man, etc., before his hearer's mind, and then proceeds to make a further statement about that man, etc., producing a more striking effect by leaving the obvious relation unsuggested.

VI. Preliminary (neutral) presentation of a certain person or thing, followed by a statement with regard to that person or thing (especially with adversative relation between the two clauses), versus the simple expression of the relation through the subjunctive.

Preliminary presentation through determinative clause.

Nam **qui** locus quietis et tranquillitatis plenissimus fore **videbatur**, in **eo** maximae moles molestiarum et turbulentissimae tempestates exstiterunt. Cic., De Or., 1, 1, 2.

Qui dedit ergo tribus patruis aconita, vehatur
Pensilibus plumis, atque illinc despiciat nos?

Iuv., 1, 158-9.

Quos nondum tantis parricidiis contaminatos vix **ferebamus**, **hos** nunc omni scelere coopertos tolerabilis censes civitati fore? Cic., Phil., 12, 7, 15.

Haec a **quibus timebantur**, eos hostis appellare dubitamus? Cic., Phil., 13, 4, 10.

Quae modo nobilium ludos **decoravi**
choro

Expression of an adversative relation through the subjunctive.

At, **qui** ita **sit** ambitiosus, ut omnis vos nosque cotidie persalutet, Temni usque ad illam aetatem in senatum venire non potuit, et **qui** se artem dicendi traditurum etiam ceteris **profiteatur**, ipse omnibus turpissimis iudiciis victus est. Flacc., 18, 42.

Qui igitur adulescens, nondum tanta gloria praeditus, nihil umquam nisi severissime et gravissime **fecerit**, **is** ea estimatione eaque aetate saltavit? Cic., Dei., 9, 27.

Quique ante hanc pugnam tiro **esset** [quod sciam], facile ipsum magistrum scelere audaciaque superavit. Cic., Rosc. Am., 6, 17.

Hanc **qui** se metuere **dicerent**, **hos** consules non dico animi hominum, sed fasti ulli ferre possunt? Cic., Pis., 13, 30.

Et Graeca in scaena prima populo **ap-
parui**

En hoc in tumulto cinerem nostri corporis
Infistae parcae deposierunt carmine.

C. I. L. 1009. Cf. *quem nulla ambitio*
. . ., Laberius; and the following:—

Even Cato showed, at least in Latin
prose, an eager literary activity; and **he**
who had asserted that the Romans
would forget how to act, under the influ-
ence of Greek literature, was in his old age
obliged to learn Greek himself. Teuffel,
History of Roman Literature, English
Translation, § 81.

In a special variant of this type, the determination of the
antecedent is made still more exact by the use of *idem*:—

At **ego idem** nunc in provinciis de-
cernendis, **qui** illas omnis res **egi** silen-
tio, interpellor. Cic., Prov. Cons., 12, 29.

Sed **ego idem qui** in illo sermone
nostro qui est expositus in Bruto multum
tribuerim Latinis, vel ut hortarer alios
vel quod amarem meos, recordor longe
omnibus unum anteferre Demosthenem.
Cic., Or., 7, 23.

Occasionally the main statement precedes, and the determina-
tive clause follows:—

Frangetis impetum vivi, **cuius** vix
sustinetis furias insepulti? Cic., Mil.,
32, 91.

Et **eius** viri nomine me insectari
audes, **cuius** me amicum, te sectorem
esse **fateare**? Cic., Phil., 2, 15, 39.

I have no doubt that the same rhetorical use of the determi-
native clause occurs with causal bearing; but I find no example
in my collection. The subjunctive is of course very frequent:

Qui familiarem iugularit (context
shows to be perfect, not future perfect),
quid is occasione data faciet inimico?
Cic., Phil., 7, 6, 18.

The essential equivalency or identity of two acts may be rhe-
torically conveyed by using the same subject for both of them.
Hence the following type:—

VII. Identification of two acts, through an identification of the actors, versus the justification of the main statement through the use of the causal subjunctive.

Identification.

Ergo quid optandum foret, ignorasse fateris

Seianum: nam **qui** nimios **optabat** honores

Et nimias **poscebat** opes, numerosa **parabat**

Excelsae turris tabulata, unde altior esset Casus, et impulsae praeceps immane ruinae.

Iuv., 10, 103-7. (The doing of the one thing was practically the doing of the other.)

Quare **qui** ab illo **abducit** exercitum, et respectum pulcherrimum et praesidium firmissimum **adimit** rei publicae. Cic., Phil., 10, 4, 9.

Justification.

A fide iustitiaque **discessit, qui** optimum et gravissimum civem, cuius legatus et a quo missus esset, in invidiam falso crimine **adduxerit**. Cic., Off., 3, 20, 81.

Bis **servavi** rem publicam, **qui** consul togatus armatos **vicerim**, privatus consulibus armatis **cesserim**. Cic., Dom. S., 37, 99.

Qui . . . condicionem aequissimam **repudiet** et **fateatur** se non pecuniam, sed vitam et sanguinem petere, is non **hoc** palam **dicit** . . . Cic., Quinct., 14, 46.

The determinative clauses of the last three categories determine individual antecedents. But, as we saw in the previous chapter, general antecedents may also be determined by indicative clauses. Such clauses, however, are no longer assertions, but are practically assumptions. No difference of effect is produced if *si*-clauses be written in their place; and, indeed, they often occur in combination with such clauses: —

Miserior igitur **qui** suscipit in se scelus quam **si qui** alterius facinus subire cogitur. Cic., Phil., 11, 4, 9. (*If* a man commits a crime against himself, he is more wretched than *one who* suffers at another's hands.)

The verb may be in the singular, as in this example, or may be in the plural, as happens when the clause defines a class, as in the following: —

Quid? **qui** pecuniae cupiditate, **qui** voluptatum libidine feruntur, **quorumque** ita perturbantur animi ut non multum absint ab insania . . . **his** nullane est adhibenda curatio? Cic., Tusc., 3, 2, 4. (*Qui* = *si qui*, *quicumque*.)

It will be observed that the contents of these relative clauses are qualitative. Since, however, they are practically assumptions, not assertions, they do not stand in that relation to the main clause which brings about the qualitative subjunctive, nor in that which makes the causal-adversative subjunctive possible. We may then say that the mode of the generalizing qualitative clause is the indicative, while the mode of the individualizing qualitative clause is (within the limits which have been pointed out) the subjunctive.

This usage being once recognized, a key is at hand to a number of otherwise remarkable constructions after negative and indefinite antecedents, as will be seen in the tables following:

VIII. Generalization versus the expression of quality (in the former case with incidental causal-adversative bearing).

<i>General assumption of a quality.</i>	<i>Attribution of a quality to an individual or class.</i>
Quicquam bonum est, quod non eum, qui id possidet, meliorem facit ? Cic., Parad., 2, 14. (Is anything good, if it does not make its possessor better?)	Quid ergo est quod percipi possit, si ne sensus quidem vera nuntiant? Cic., Ac. Pr., 2, 25, 79.
Neque enim est ulla fortitudo, quae rationis est expers. Cic., Tusc., 4, 22, 50. (Fortitude is not fortitude if it lack reason.)	Nullus dolor est, quem non longinquitas temporis minuat ac molliat . Serv., ap. Cic., Fam., 4, 5, 6.
Nihil neque meum est neque cuiusquam, quod auferri, quod eripi, quod amitti potest . Cic., Parad. 4, 29. (If a thing can be taken from me, it is not really mine.)	Si nihil est quod tam miseros faciat quam impietas et scelus . . . Cic., Fin., 4, 24, 66.
Nihil est enim stabile, quod infidum est . Cic., Am., 18, 65.	Nihil quod ipsis esset indignum committebant. Caes., B. G., 5, 35.
Principio qui potest esse "vita vitalis," ut ait Ennius, quae non in amici mutua benevolentia conquiescit ? Cic., Am., 6, 22.	Quae vetustas est, quae vim divinam conficere possit ? Cic., Div., 2, 57, 117.
Iudex esse bonus nemo potest, qui suspicione certa non movetur . Cic., Verr., 5, 26, 65. Compare the following: Quo nomine dignus est nemo , nisi qui tanti honoris nomen potest sustinere. Cic., Phil., 7, 2, 5.	Nemo enim est tam senex qui se annum non putet posse vivere. Cic., Sen., 7, 24.
Beatus est nemo , qui ea lege vivit , ut . . . Cic., Phil., 1, 14, 35.	In tanta felicitate nemo potest esse, in magna familia qui neminem neque servum neque libertum improbum habeat . Cic., Rosc. Am., 8, 22.

Nulla placere diu nec vivere carmina
possunt,
Quae scribuntur aquae potioribus.
Hor., Ep., 1, 19, 2-3.

The association of the subjunctive qualitative clause with the negative or indefinite antecedent is, however, so strong that it would be strange if the subjunctive did not occasionally make inroads, after such antecedents, upon the true field of the indicative assumption. And subjunctives apparently due to this cause do in fact occur.

General assumption of a quality (indicative) after a negative or indefinite antecedent.

Nemo enim iustus esse potest, **qui** mortem, qui dolorem, qui exsilium, qui egestatem **timet** aut qui ea, quae sunt his contraria, aequitati **anteponit**. Cic., Off., 3, 11, 38.

Vos tunc paruistis, quom paruit **nemo**, **qui noluit**. Cic., Lig., 7, 20.

Et quamquam a Q. Hortensio, clarissimo viro atque eloquentissimo, causa est P. Sestii perorata **nihilque** ab eo praetermissum est, **quod** aut pro re publica conquerendum **fuit** aut pro reo disputandum, tamen adgrediar ad dicendum. Cic., Sest., 2, 3.

An **quicquam** est secundum naturam, **quod fit** repugnante ratione? Cic., Tusc., 4, 37, 79.

Characterization by the qualitative subjunctive after negative and indefinite antecedents, in consequence of the association of the mode with such antecedents.

Caesar Alexandria se recepit, felix, ut sibi quidem videbatur, mea autem sententia, **qui** rei publicae **sit** hostis, felix esse **nemo** potest. Cic., Phil., 2, 26, 64.¹

Neminem umquam est hic ordo complexus honoribus et beneficiis suis, **qui** ullam dignitatem praestabiliorem ea, quam per vos esset adeptus, **putarit**; **nemo** umquam hic potuit esse princeps, **qui maluerit** esse popularis. Cic., Prov. Con., 16, 38.

Dividebat acute, **nec** praetermittebat fere **quicquam**, **quod esset** in causa aut ad confirmandum aut ad refellendum. Cic., Brut., 88, 303.

Potest igitur **quicquam** utile esse, **quod sit** huic talium virtutum choro contrarium? Cic., Off., 3, 32, 115.

Itaque posteaquam est nata haec vel circumscriptio vel comprehensio vel continuatio vel ambitus, si ita licet dicere, **nemo**, **qui** aliquo **esset** in numero,

¹ If three of these examples are suspected of being cases of a subtle *oratio obliqua*, the three remaining ones, at least, are free from suspicion.

Etenim **quis** mortalium, **cui** virile ingenium **est**, tolerare potest illis divitias superare? Sall., Cat., 20, 11.

scripsit orationem generis eius, quod esset ad delectationem comparatum remotumque a iudiciis forensique certamine, quin redigeret omnis fere in quadrum numerumque sententias. Cic., Or., 61, 208.

Quamquam **quis**, **qui** aliquid **sapiat**, nunc esse beatus potest? Cic. Fam. 7, 28, 1.

The subjunctive clauses with *qui quidem* after a negative antecedent should, I think, be placed in this category: —

Nihil erat cuiusquam, quod **quidem** ille **adamasset**, quod non hoc anno suum fore putaret. Cic., Mil., 32, 87.

Equidem **neminem** praetermisi, **quem quidem** ad te perventurum **putarem**, cui litteras non dederim. Cic., Fam., 2, 1, 1. So also without **quidem**:

Neminem, **qui** aut libertate dignus **esset** aut **vellet** omnino liber esse, sibi amicum arbitrabatur. Cic., Tusc., 5, 22, 63.

I add examples of *qui modo* with both modes. Subjunctive clauses of this kind are commonly classed with consecutive clauses, and possibly rightly. I entertain a doubt, however, whether they are not true jussive assumptions, corresponding to the subjunctive jussive assumption in Greek, as in the subjunctive general condition, the assumed case, the simile, etc.¹ If this be the right solution, the two modes stand related to each other as indicative assumption and subjunctive assumption, and a near neighbor of the latter is then the proviso with *modo*, — itself only a special phase of a condition.

Quamquam **quis** ignorat, **qui modo** umquam mediocriter res istas scire **cურavit**, quin tria Graecorum genera sint vere? Cic., Flacc., 27, 64.

Quis est omnium, **qui modo** cum Musis, id est cum humanitate et cum doctrina, **habeat** aliquod commercium, qui se non hunc mathematicum malit quam illum tyrannum? Cic., Tusc., 5, 23, 66.

¹ Cf., e. g., Hom., Od., 4, 165-6:

Πολλὰ γὰρ ἄλγε' ἔχει πατὴρ παῖς οἰχομένοιο

Ἐν μεγάροις, ᾗ μὴ ἄλλοι ἀοσσητῆρες ἔωσιν.

For a son, — assuming that he hath none to stand by him, — hath many griefs in his halls when his father is away.

Cui porro, **qui modo** populi Romani nomen **audivit**, Deiotari integritas, gravitas, virtus, fides non audita est? Cic., Dei., 6, 16.

Tum iam non unus manipulus, sed pro se **quisque** miles, **qui modo** adsequi agmen fugientium elephantorum **poterat**, pila conicere. Liv., 27, 14, 10.

Add Mart., 6, 82, 6.

Quis enim umquam, **qui paulum modo** bonorum consuetudinem **nosset**, litteras ad se ab amico missas offensione aliqua interposita in medium protulit palamque recitavit? Cic., Phil., 2, 4, 7.

Servus est **nemo**, **qui modo** tolerabili condicione **sit** servitutis, qui non audaciam civium perhorrescat, qui non haec stare cupiat, qui non quantum audet et quantum potest conferat ad salutem voluntatis. Cic., Cat., 4, 8, 16.

One sometimes finds, as a variant upon this category of the generalizing clause, an assumption generalizing in form, but having its point in its application to a particular individual who is in the speaker's mind; as, *e. g.*, in the second example below (the first, which is precisely like it in form, being a true generalizing clause): —

Etenim si **is**, **qui non defendit** iniuriam neque **propulsat**, cum potest, iniuste facit, ut in primo libro disserui, qualis habendus est **is**, **qui non modo non repellit**, sed etiam **adiuvat** iniuriam? Cic., Off., 3, 18, 74.

Hic vester hostis vestram rem publicam oppugnat, ipse habet nullam; senatum, id est orbis terrae consilium, delere gestit, ipse consilium publicum nullum habet; aerarium vestrum exhaustit, suum non habet. Nam concordiam civium qui habere potest, nullam quom habet civitatem? Pacis vero quae potest esse cum **eo** ratio, in **quo est** incredibilis crudelitas, fides nulla? Cic., Phil., 4, 6, 15. (If a man is possessed of an incredible cruelty, and no sense of honor, — as is the case with Antony, — how can there be any question of peace with him?)

With this choice of the assumptive form in place of the qualitative-causal one might compare the frequent choice of the conditional *si quidem* in place of *quod*, and the use of the conditional *et si* in the sense of *quamquam*.¹

¹ In the light of the examples of this general category, it is clear that the qualitative subjunctive (or causal subjunctive) is not employed after a positive generalizing antecedent. Mistakes are often made on this point, as by Holtze in the passage cited on p. 88, and by Donaldson, Latin Grammar, p. 404 (*ce*), who explains *qui credat* as meaning "if any one" in Ter., Ad., 65:—

Et **errat** longe mea quidem sententia,

Qui imperium **credat** gravius esse aut stabilius,

Vi quod fit, quam illud quod amicitia adiungitur.

The mode of *credat* shows that it refers to a definite individual, Demetrius, — a conception which perfectly suits the phraseology of the line immediately preceding, —

Nimium **ipse** est durus praeter aequumque et bonum.

As a convenient summary, we may say that sentences like *qui* (in the sense of *those who*) *hoc censeant*, *vitam non flocci faciunt*, do not occur.

A special form which generalization takes is that of the identification of one *series* of acts with another. Such an identification passes imperceptibly into *formal definition*. In contrast stand, on the one hand, the exhibition of the *workings* of the subject, on the other the *justification* of the making of the statement in the main clause.

IX. Generalizing identification, passing into formal definition, versus (a) the exhibition of the workings of the qualities of the antecedent, or (b) the justification of the main statement through the causal subjunctive.

Definition.

Temperantia est enim, **quae** in rebus aut expetendis aut fugiendis ut rationem sequamur **monet**. Cic., Fin., 1, 14, 47.

Indignatio est oratio, per **quam** **conficitur**, ut in aliquem hominem magnum odium aut in rem gravis offensio concitetur. Cic., Inv., 1, 53, 100.

Ratiocinatio est, per **quam** ipsi a nobis rationem **poscimus**, qua re quidque dicamus, et crebro nosmet a nobis **petimus** unius cuiusque propositionis explanationem. Cornific., 4, 16, 23.

Reprehensio est, per **quam** argumentando adversariorum confirmatio **diluitur** aut **infirmatur** aut **elevatur**. Cic., Inv., 1, 42, 78.

Exhibition of qualities, etc.

Natura est igitur, **quae** **contineat** mundum omnem eumque **tueatur**, et ea quidem non sine sensu atque ratione. Cic., N. D., 2, 11, 29.

Oculi sunt, **quorum** tum intentione, tum remissione, tum coniectu, tum hilaritate motus animorum **significemus** apte cum genere ipso orationis. Cic., De Or., 3, 59, 222. Compare the following, in which *talis* assists the expression of the working of the character of the antecedent:

Nam est innocentia adfectio **talis** animi, **quae** **noceat** nemini —, reliquas etiam virtutes frugalitas continet. Cic., Tusc., 3, 8, 16.

CHAPTER IV.

PARALLEL *QUI*- AND *QUOM*-CONSTRUCTIONS. THE FURTHER (INDIVIDUAL) DEVELOPMENT OF THE LATTER.

WE have obtained our desired equipment, and employ it at once by applying to the *qui*-clauses and the *quom*-clauses alike the categories under which we found the former to fall. The arrangement of examples will place the *quom*-clauses on the right, the *qui*-clauses on the left.

I. The determinative indicative *qui-quom*-clause.

Eo tempore, quo haec Canusii **agebantur**, Venusiam ad consulem ad quatuor milia et quingenti pedites equitesque, qui sparsi fuga per agros fuerant, pervenere. Liv., 22, 54, 1.

Quae precatus a dis immortalibus sum, iudices, more institutoque maiorum **illo die quo . . .** L. Murenam consulem **renuntiavi**. . . . Cic., Mur., 1, 1.

Atque ille **eo tempore** paruit, **quom** parere senatui necesse **erat**. Cic., Lig., 7, 20. (The second statement brings before the minds of Cicero's hearers a certain fact which *places eo tempore*.)

Semper ille populum Romanum liberum voluit maximumque signum **illo die** dedit voluntatis et iudicii sui, **quom** Antonio diadema Caesari imponente se **avertit** gemituque et maestitia **declaravit** quantum haberet odium servitutis. Cic., Phil., 5, 14, 38.

A frequently occurring combination, which develops a special function, is illustrated by the following: —

Multi enim anni sunt, quom ille in aere meo **est**. (The original meaning of such a sentence would be *the years in which he has been my debtor are many*.) Cic., Fam., 15, 14, 1.

Numerals must also frequently occur, as in *decem anni sunt quom*. Such combinations would suggest others, like *decimus annus est quom*, and *iam diu est quom*, etc.; and these, in turn, would lead to the familiar illogical forms like *aliquot enim sunt anni, quom vos delegi*, Cic., Att., 9, 11, A.

2. The qualitative indicative *qui-quom*-clause.

As an independent indicative statement that throws light upon the character or condition of a person becomes an indicative qualitative clause by being attached to that person's name through a *qui*, so an indicative statement that throws light upon the character or condition of a time, and so expresses the nature of the situation under which the main act takes place or state exists, becomes an indicative qualitative clause by being attached to a self-defining word indicating that time; e. g., *nunc*, *hoc tempore*, *hoc anno*.¹

Et cum mortifero prudens Veiento Catullo , Qui numquam visae flagrabat amore puellae, Grande et conspicuum nostro quoque tempore monstrum.	[My collection affords no pure example for <i>quom</i> ; but the construction is vouched for by the mode of the same qualitative clause, as it appears in causal-adversative relations under the next number.]
Iuv., 4, 113-5.	

3. The indicative *qui-quom*-clause with causal or adversative bearing upon the main statement.

Ego non iustus, qui et consul rogavi et augur et auspicato? Cic., N. D., 2, 4, 11.	Neque enim, si tibi tum, quom peteres consulatum, adfui, nunc , quom Murenam ipsum petis , adiutor eodem pacto esse debeo. Cic., Mur., 3, 8.
Ego , qui sum longe fortior, pereo fame. Phaedr., 3, 7, 6.	

4. The parenthetical indicative *qui-quom*-clause.

Nam propter angustias loci confertamque turbam non modo ad emittenda cum procursu — quo plurimum concitantur tela — spatium habebant, sed ne ut de gradu quidem libero ac stabili conarentur. Liv., 34, 39, 4.	Vetuit me tali voce Quirinus, Post mediam noctem visus — quom somnia vera : — “In silvam non ligna feras insanius ac si Magnas Graecorum malis implere ceteras.” Hor., Sat., 1, 10, 32-5.
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5. The indicative *qui-quom*-clause of an “aside.”

Ne triumphus quidem finem facit belli? per quem lata est urbs ea, sine qua num-	Quaestor deinde quadriennio post factus sum, quem magistratum gessi consu-
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¹ The qualitative character of this aspect of the idea of time will be more fully seen on pp. 143.

quam ex Transalpinis gentibus maiores nostri triumphaverunt. **Quo quidem tempore** populus Romanus **ingemuit**. Cic., Phil., 8, 6, 18.

libus Tuditano et Cethego, **quom quidem** ille admodum senex suasor legis Cinciae de donis et muneribus **fuit**. Cic., Sen., 4, 10 (. . . which office, by the way, I held in the consulship of Tuditanus and Cethegus, — at which time, by the way, he, though an old man, was an active promoter, etc.).

6. The forward-moving indicative *qui-quom*-clause.

Tantus vester consensus de salute mea fuit, ut corpus abesset meum, dignitas iam in patriam revertisset. **Quo quidem mense** quid inter me et meos inimicos interesset existimare **potuistis**. Ego meam salutem deserui. . . . Cic., Post Red., 3, 3, 5-6.

Litteras in contione recitasti, quas tibi a C. Caesare missas diceret **CAESAR PULCRO**; **quom etiam es argumentatus** amoris hoc esse signum, quod . . . (. . . and then you proceeded to argue . . .). Cic., Dom. S., 9, 22.

Out of this use of *quom* grows the familiar use ("*cum inversum*") by which the clause narrates an event or state that broke in upon a state (rarely an act) expressed in the main clause. The non-essential character of the clause (semi-independent, and forward-moving) is shown by such sentences as *vix consideramus, et nox* (Plin., Ep., 6, 20, 14).

7. The generalizing indicative *qui-quom*-clause (assuming a fact, in any time).

Beneficium dando accepit, **qui digno dedit**. (*Qui = quiquomque, si quis.*) Publil. Syr.

Quid ergo opus est, dicet aliquis, ratione aut omnino consolatione illa qua solemus uti, **quom** levare dolorem mærentium **volumus**? (*Quom = quotiens-quomque, siquando.*) Cic., Tusc., 3, 23, 55.

8. The generalizing subjunctive *qui-quom*-clause (assuming an ideal act, in the present, the past, or the future).

Haec et innumerabilia ex eodem genere **qui videat**, nonne cogatur confiteri deos esse? (*Would not any man who should look at these things be forced to admit . . . ?*) Cic., N. D., 2, 4, 12.

Praeterita enim aetas quamvis longa **quom effluxisset**, nulla consolatione permulcere posset stultam senectutem. (*The past, — no matter how long, — when once it was over and gone, could never give any comfort to a fool's old age.*) Cic., Sen., 3, 4.

With the indefinite second person singular.

Nullast tam facilis res, quin difficilis siet,
Quam invitus facias.

Ter., Haut., 805-6.

Nonne emori per virtutem praestat,
quam vitam miseram atque inhonestam,
ubi alienae superbiae ludibrio **fu**eris,
per dedecus amittere? Sall., Cat., 20, 9.

Aptissima omnino sunt, Scipio et Laeli,
arma senectutis artes exercitationesque
virtutum, quae in omni aetate cultae,
quom diu multumque **vixeris**, mirificas
eferunt fructus (. . . *when one has had*
a long and full life . . .) Cic., Sen., 3, 9.

Similarly, the cases from Sallust quoted
on. p. 36 of Part I. (classed as indicatives
by Hoffmann).

9. The consecutive *qui-quom*-clause.

(a) The original consecutive *qui-quom*-clause (the verb of which would be equally in the subjunctive if independent) characterizes the antecedent by stating some act that would naturally flow, would naturally have flowed, etc., from the character of the antecedent.

Est paucis vos **quod** monitos **voluerim**.

Plaut., Capt., Prol., 53.

Nihil est lucri, **quod** me hodie facere
mavelim.

Plaut., Bacch., 854.

Nihil est, **quod** **malim**.

Plaut., Bacch., 869.

Nemost quem ego nunciam magis **cu-**
perem videre quam te.

Ter., Eun., 561.

. . . vidi . . . petitoris filium . . . cum
crotalis saltare, **quam** saltationem inpu-
dicus servulus honeste saltare non **pos-**
set. Scip. Min., ap. Macr., 3, 14, 6.

Nunc **illud est**, **quom** me fuisse quam
esse nimio **mavelim**.

Plaut., Capt., 516.

Nunc **illud est**, **quom**, si omnia omnes
sua consilia conferant

Atque huic malo salutem quaerant, auxili
nil **adferant**. (*Quod*, Cdd.)

Ter., Ad., 299-300.

Illum liquet mihi deierare his mensibus
Sex septem prorsus non vidisse proxumis,
Nisi **nunc**, **quom** minime **vellem**
minimeque opus fuit.

Ter., Eun., 331-3.

Profectus est **id temporis quom** iam
Clodius, si quidem eo die Romam ven-
turus erat, redire **potuisset**. Cic., Mil.,
10, 28.

The next three types of the *qui*-clause we found to be as follows: —

(b) The developing consecutive clause characterizes the antecedent by stating some act that actually will flow, does flow, etc., from the nature of the antecedent.

(c) The developing clause (originally consecutive, now qualitative) characterizes the antecedent by directly stating the existence in it, or absence from it, of a quality.

(d) The developing qualitative clause exhibits the condition of the antecedent by stating some experience of his (hers, its) proceeding, not from the nature of the antecedent, but from an external source.

Type (c) will not be found in the *quom*-clauses, for the reason that *quom* cannot serve as either a nominative or a dative, and consequently cannot be presented as the possessor of a quality. Further, a *time* is not commonly presented as an entity, which may do something, or to which something may be done, but rather as the period *at which* a given thing is done; and for this reason no sharp difference between type (b) and type (d) can be exhibited in the *quom*-clauses. Nevertheless, the following examples show that the general course of the development which the expression of the consecutive idea took in the *qui*-clauses was also taken in the *quom*-clauses: —

Nam hercle ego huic die si liceat oculos
ecfodiam lubens.

Ita malignitate oneravit omnis mortalis
mihi.

Neque ieiuniosorem nec magis ecfertum
fame

Vidi nec **quoi** minus **procedat** quid-
quid facere ocepit.

Plaut., Capt., 464-7.

Magnum proventum poetarum annus
hic attulit. Toto mense Aprili **nullus**
fere **dies quo** non **recitaret** aliquis.
Plin., Ep., 1, 13, 1.

Compare the expression of the origi-
nally consecutive idea in the following:

Nullum fere **tempus** intermiserunt
quin trans Rhenum legatos **mitterent**.
Caes., B. G., 5, 55.

Melius anno hoc mihi non fuit domi,
Nec quod una esca me **iuverit** magis.

Plaut., Most., 677-8.

Si umquam ullum fuit **tempus**, mater,
quom ego voluptati tibi

Fuerim, dictus filius tuos vostra volun-
tate, obsecro. . . .

Ter., Haut., 1024-5. Similarly Plaut.,
Most., 157-8.

Qui locus est, iudices, **quod tempus**,
qui dies, **quae nox**, **quom** ego non
ex istorum insidiis ac mucronibus non
solum meo, sed multo etiam magis di-
vino consilio **eripiar** atque **evolem**?
Cic., Mur., 38, 82.

Iam pridem ecaster frigida non lavi
magis lubenter,

Nec quom me melius, mea Scapha, rear
esse defecatam.

Plaut., Most., 153-4.

(c) The classifying *qui-quom*-clause places the antecedent person, thing, or time in a class on the ground of some act or circumstance which (at the extreme) may be wholly external to him (her, it).

Acta enim Caesaris pacis causa confirmata sunt a senatu, **quae quidem** Caesar **egisset**. Cic., Phil., 2, 39, 100.

Nam M. Drusum tuum magnum avunculum, gravem oratorem, ita **dumtaxat quom** de re publica **diceret**. . . . Cic., Brut., 62, 222.¹

I have noted no other example of *quom restrictive*. Yet one would not hesitate to translate *never, at any rate when I have been present*, by *numquam, quom quidem ego adessem*.

It is evident, then, that in the main the consecutive *quom*-clause has passed through the same development as the consecutive *qui*-clause, and that the first steps of that development had already been taken before the time of Plautus.

In one further respect, too, there is a noteworthy similarity between the *qui*- and the *quom*- constructions in Plautus. Both constructions occur in sentences placed under Category I. in the last chapter (i. e., after indefinite antecedents); but in neither of them has that type yet come into use which we saw under Category V. in the same chapter (after a qualitative *is* or *ille*). I quote two Ciceronian examples to illustrate my meaning:

Oblitus itaque imperi patris consulumque edicti praecepta ad **id certamen** agitur, **quo** vinceret an vinceretur haud multum **interesset**. Liv., 8, 7, 8.

In **id saeculum** Romuli cecidit aetas, **quom** iam plena Graecia poetarum et musicorum **esset** minorque fabulis nisi de veteribus rebus **haberetur** fides. (*Romulus lived in an age of cultivation and growing scepticism.*) Cic., Rep., 2, 10, 18.

This type, then, must be added to make our survey of the extension of the consecutive-qualitative *qui-quom*-construction complete; and we shall find later that its rise is accompanied by important results.

We have seen two distinct kinds of qualitative *quom*-clauses, — the subjunctive kind, just treated (No. 9), and the indicative

¹ See p. 170, at the bottom, and note 2, p. 240.

kind (No. 2); and we have next to draw the line of demarcation between them. To state results briefly, it proves, as would be expected, to be the same as was found for the corresponding indicative and subjunctive *qui*-constructions. The subjunctive is used if the qualitative clause is essential (predicative or virtually predicative); the indicative if it is non-essential (added to a self-defining antecedent).

THE DETERMINATIVE AND THE QUALITATIVE CONCEPTION OF TIME.

Our examples have shown us two distinct aspects of the idea of time. Modern languages use the same apparatus for both. All the more, therefore, shall we need to obtain a clear conception of the difference between them.

In the chronological aspect, a time is the point in the world's history at which certain acts took place, were taking place, etc. With such an idea in mind we use one act to *locate* another; just as, in stating where a country is, we *place* it by saying that it lies next to such and such other countries. This is the office of the determinative *quom*-clause (indicative).

On the other hand, when we are not fixing an event in time, not locating it in its place in history, but are watching the making of history in some given range, a given time is simply the sum total, at a certain point in the great procession of events, of still remaining effects of acts or states passed by, plus acts then taking place and states then existing. But this sum total is the *nature of the situation*, the *character of the time*. If it is on a large scale, the range of view taking in, e. g., all the civilized world, then it is in effect the *state of civilization*, the *temper of the age*. The acts done in a certain age, and the states left over to it from the preceding age, show its character precisely as the acts now doing by an individual man or already done by him show his character, or as the acts now doing to him or already done to him show his condition, the plight in which he is. When Cicero, in the first oration against Catiline, exclaimed at the character of the times (*O tempora, O mores!*), he based his exclamation on the acts and states which he was about to

mention: *Senatus haec intellegit, consul videt, hic tamen vivit*. And even in cases where the range of view is small, and takes in only the acts and states which make up a given moment on some petty stage of action, yet these acts and states are equally qualitative in the field which they cover. They give in the same way the *setting* of the main act, the *nature of the situation* under which it took place, the *character of its environment*, the *milieu*, the *Sachlage*, the *status rerum* (to adopt a frequent phrase of Livy).

Now the Romans recognized this latter aspect of the temporal idea as fully as any explanation can make us recognize it. They applied adjectives of quality to a time, just as they did to a man: —

Vir egregius . . . alienissimo rei publicae tempore extinctus. Cic., Brut. 1, 1, 2.

One could easily present pages of examples containing phrases like *in tali tempore*, *periculosissimo reipublicae tempore*, *opportuno tempore*, *summo tempore*, *temporibus diris*, *dubiis*, *formidolosis*, *tristissimis*, *molestissimis*, *aliquod eiusmodi tempus ut*, etc. An especially good instance occurs in Nep., Pelop., 3, 3 and 4, 1; in which passage, after a narration of the formation of the plans for the liberation of Thebes and of the bloody execution of those plans, Nepos sums up the whole in the first four words of the following sentence: —

Hoc tam turbido tempore, sicut supra docuimus, Epaminondas, quoad cum civibus dimicatum est, domi quietus fuit.

In all these cases of ablatives, the effect of the adjective is to exhibit the *character of the situation* at the time when the main act took place. The English language is capable of doing the same thing. But in one respect, as we have seen, the Romans had the better of us. They not only possessed the simple adjective, but they also eventually developed, in the subjunctive qualitative *quom*-clause, a complex adjective capable of expressing at any length, and in cases where no simple adjective existed, the nature of the situation under which the main act took place. The richness of the final equipment of their developed style is

illustrated in the following, in which *tempore* is twice characterized, — once by the simple adjective *turbulentissimo*, and again by the complex adjective *quom . . . dissident*:—

Hispaniensis legatio consecuta est, **turbulentissimo** rei publicae **tempore**, **quom** adventu L. Sullae maximi exercitus in Italia civium **dissident** de iudiciis ac legibus. Cic., Font., 3, 6.¹

We have, then, to trace the development of the various functions of the two kinds of qualitative *quom*-clauses, the indicative and the subjunctive, throwing out of our consideration the clauses after negative and indefinite antecedents, which have already been studied.

In the remaining functions the antecedent of *quom* is, in a grammarian's analysis, some word of time, expressed or felt. In the great majority of cases the expressed or implied word is a *tum*, *eo tempore*, or something of the kind; and this *tum*, *eo tempore*, etc., serves as an ablative of time for the act of the main clause. The office of *quom* is the same for its own verb,—i. e., it is equivalent to a *quo tempore*. The practical effect of using it is, then, to present two acts or states in one field of view.

Yet the idea of the necessity of a grammatical antecedent must not be pressed too far. In ordinary use such temporal relations are employed with no thought of an antecedent. Such must have been the case, e. g., with the common narrative clause as we find it in Plautus. When, on the other hand, there is a distinct pronominal antecedent like *eo tempore* or *tum*, the clause

¹ Two objections might be made, but must not be made, to this use of the passage. It might be said that I have shown in Cap. II. that a relative clause when attached to an adjective by a connective takes the subjunctive, but the indicative when it is attached without connective. That is true, but only for *non-essential* clauses, belonging to self-defining antecedents, like a man's name. The case is different here. *Turbulentissimo rei publicae tempore* is not a self-defining antecedent. The meaning is, *at a time of great disturbance, a time when*, etc. The other objection might be that *quom . . . dissident* is not a qualitative clause belonging to *tempore*, but a causal clause, justifying the application of the epithet *turbulentissimo*. But such a disinclination to accept the *quom*-clause as purely qualitative would not be felt by one who remembered such examples as *id saeculum quom . . . esset* just cited, and *eis temporibus quom . . . iacerent*, and *tum datae sunt, quom ego me non belle haberem*, cited on p. 173.

corresponds to Category V. of our *qui*-clauses, and is either determinative in meaning (in which case it would be in the indicative), or is consecutive-qualitative (in which case it would, in Ciceronian Latin, be in the subjunctive). But we have already seen that clauses of the latter type do not occur in Plautus, either with *qui* or with *quom*; nor do they in Terence. Accordingly, since we are not dealing with clauses after negative or indefinite antecedents, we shall find that in these authors all the qualitative clauses which we have still to study are in the indicative.

Before proceeding to this study, a word is necessary in regard to the use of the tenses.

THE TENSES IN PARATACTIC NARRATION.

In the paratactic stage of the language, (*a*) independent aorists and historical presents would be used to give a series of events in rapid narration (e. g. *veni, vidi, vici*), the effect being to present to the hearer's mind event after event in the order in which they occurred, but with no indication, except in the order of arrangement, of the temporal relation of one to another. This is still, to-day, the child's way of telling a story. On the other hand, (*b*) a somewhat less rapidly moving and more exact (though still paratactic) method of narration would exhibit the main events by means of aorists, but would pause now and then to give the state of affairs, the character of the situation as it was when one and another of these acts took place; such a state of affairs being, of course, expressed by the imperfect or pluperfect (the accessory tenses).¹ Both kinds of paratactic narration are in occasional use in the developed literary style: —

(*a*) Imus, venimus,

Videmus.

Ter., Phorm., 103-4.

His circumdatus in cubiculo meo **sedi**; **dixit** Curianus quae pro se putabat : **respondi** paucis ego . . . deinde **secessi**. Plin., Ep., 5, 1, 5-6.

¹ I have treated the uses of the tenses of the indicative and the subjunctive more fully in a Supplementary Paper on the Sequence of Tenses, "American Journal of Philology," ix. 2.

- (b) Ea **sita erat** exadvorsum neque illi benivulus
 Neque notus neque cognatus extra unam aniculam
 Quisquam **aderat**, qui adiutaret funus. **Miseritumst.**

Ter., Phorm., 97-9. (*Sita erat* and *neque aderat* are independent sentences of circumstances, with causal bearing upon *miseritumst.*)

Stridebat deformis hiems praedamque recentem
Servabat; tamen hic **properat**. . .

Iuv., 4, 58-9. (*Stridebat* and *servabat* are independent sentences of circumstances, with adversative bearing upon *properat.*)

The rise of the temporal relative particles would produce two kinds of narrative clauses, corresponding to the above, viz.: (a) the rapidly-moving (aoristic) type, and (b) what we may call the situation-exhibiting (accessory) type. It is obvious that the latter type is strongly qualitative, while the former is not, so far as the mechanism of expression is concerned.

The aoristic type preponderates in the comparatively early stage of literary style which Plautus illustrates.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE VARIOUS FUNCTIONS OF THE INDICATIVE QUALITATIVE *Quom*-CLAUSE (EARLY LATIN).

A. The qualitative *quom*-clause will be employed in narration to prepare the hearer for the main act, by stating what was going on at the time, or what had already taken place, with some bearing on the situation,—in other words, it will be employed to exhibit the *nature of the situation* under which the main act took place (*introductory narrative clause*). The qualitative character of the statement will be of all degrees, from very marked to very slight.

The act which is thus stated in preparation for the main act is itself a new one in the story, or at least a résumé of a new one just mentioned. The narrative clause, therefore, *advances the narration*.

Occasionally, instead of being prefixed to the main act, as an introduction to it, such a clause would be added afterward, as a supplementary picture of the character of the situation. For want of a better phrase, we may call such a clause the *post-*

positive, or sequent, narrative clause, in contradistinction from the introductory narrative clause.

Quin modo
Eripui, homines **quom ferebant** te sublimen quattuor,
Apud hasce aedis.

Plaut., Men., 1032-4.

An introductory statement of the nature of the situation, consisting, as it does, of the citing of an act done (or still in process of doing), will, when the same person is the actor in both clauses, have the effect of a present or perfect participle, active or passive, as the case may be. In the lack of a perfect active participle in Latin (except in deponent verbs), such a quasi-participial construction has a large field open to it. And the comparatively restricted use of the present participle leaves to the *quom*-clause a field hardly smaller.

The same thing holds of the sequent narrative clause; and, in particular, it is especially employed with a participial function when its subject is the same as the object of a verb of seeing, etc.: —

Quodque inde **inspectavisti** meum apud me hospitem
Amplexum amicam, **quom osculabatur**, suam.
Plaut., Mil., 508-9. (*Quom osculabatur* = *osculantem*.)

When the main verb expresses an activity, the character of the situation must in most cases be in harmony with, or in opposition to, that activity, as may easily be seen in the following: —

Nec miserae prodesse **in tali tempore** quibat
Quod patrio princeps donarat nomine regem.

Lucr., I, 93-4.

Sed populo **tali in tempore** id quoque dolorem **tulit**. . . Tac., Ann., 2, 84.
(Since the times were such . . .)

Indignatus Hannibal **dici ea in tali tempore** audirique, arreptum Gisgonem manu sua ex superiore loco detraxit. Liv., 30, 37, 7. (Indignant that such things should be said, in spite of the situation.)

At vero **in summo et periculosissimo** reipublicae **tempore** etiam ab inimicis eadem praetura **laudabatur**. Cic., Flacc., 3, 6. (Even though the time was such a critical one . . . , yet . . .)

The same relations of course exist when the character of the situation is expressed through the more complicated mechanism of the *quom*-clause: —

Quid ais? **Quom intellexeras**
Id consilium capere, quor non dixti extemplo
Pamphilo?

(After learning that they were getting up this plan, why did n't you tell Pamphilus at once?) Ter., Andr., 517-8. (The fact that the person addressed knew at the time, was a good reason for telling at once; and the not-telling is therefore in an adversative relation to that fact.)

Such clauses, then, might be called narrative *quom*-clauses, with causal or adversative bearing.

One phase of the use of the narrative clause gives rise to a special idiom, which is illustrated at a point near its genesis by the following: —

Quom id mihi placebat, **tum** uno ore omnes omnia
Bona dicere et laudare fortunas meas.

Ter., Phorm., 96.

In the beginning, we may suppose the *quom*-clause in this idiom to have been a simple narrative clause, to which was joined the statement of another event occurring at the same time, with the addition of the insistent *tum*, — the meaning consequently being *when* or *while* . . . , *at the same time*. . . . If such combinations chanced to be frequently used, we may easily imagine an association with the phraseology of a feeling like that expressed by *non modo sed etiam*, and can understand the use of the formula in cases where a logical analysis of the *quom*-clause would be impossible.

B. Qualitative *quom*-clauses will be used, after expressed antecedents like *eo tempore*, *tum*, etc., to cite acts or states which, while incidentally placing the time which is in mind, will primarily serve to exhibit the character of that time, — in other words, will have a strong qualitative significance. Such clauses will be in opposition to determinative clauses, though under a similar phraseology, and will correspond exactly to the qualitative side of Category V. of the *qui*-clauses (pp. 125-128).

The type differs, then, from the narrative type only in having a more sharply defined or felt temporal antecedent. But this,

of course, is no line of demarcation. The one type flows without boundary into the other, and we are able to find distinctions only by fixing our attention upon two points at a distance from each other in the common stream.

It must be carefully noted that, in using the type of clause which we are now considering, the speaker, while accenting the qualitative aspect of the act as giving the nature of the situation under which the main act took place, nevertheless incidentally *places* that main act; just as the qualitative *qui*-clause of Category V. (p. 128) incidentally makes clear to us *who* or *what* the antecedent is. We might call this type, then, the *placing-and-qualifying* type, or the *incidentally determinative qualitative* type. Three more things are also to be noted: first, that such a *quom*-clause, since it gives a situation, a condition of affairs, may have the same effect as a participle expressing the situation, the condition, of the person or thing which it modifies; second, that clauses of this type, in the great majority of cases, have incidentally a causal or adversative bearing upon the main clause, just as the qualitative *qui*-clause of the same category has; third, that, unlike the narrative clause, this clause does not advance the narration, but, on the contrary, ordinarily carries the hearer's mind away from the narration or discourse to some distant point.

The following example may belong to this type: —

St.

Visne aquam

Tibi petam?

Ch. Res **quom** animam agebat, **tum** esse offusam oportuit.

Plaut., Trin., 1092-3. (When the nature of the situation was so and so, then was the time. . . .)

In dealing with early Latin, however, we are unable to distinguish the qualitative type with certainty, for we have no means, such as the use of the subjunctive affords us in classical Latin, of making sure that the writer's feeling was not the determinative one.

C. The qualitative idea, with generally accompanying causal or adversative idea, which we saw to exist in Type A. and Type B., would of course be now stronger, now weaker. In proportion as it was stronger, the temporal idea with which the word

quom began its existence would recede, and *vice versa*. Such variations, constantly occurring, would necessarily carry the development of the function of the clause in two opposite directions. The weakening of the qualitative feeling would leave the temporal feeling predominant, and so convert the clause into the construction of Type *A*., leading, at the extreme, to the lightest form of the narrative clause. And, in the opposite direction, the weakening of the temporal idea and the gain of the qualitative idea, together with that of the causal or adversative idea which in most cases necessarily goes with it, would lead at the extreme to a type from which the temporal idea had wholly disappeared, leaving only the strong qualitative idea, — the idea of the character of the situation, with necessarily equally strong causal or adversative bearing. This type we may call the no-longer-temporal qualitative clause, with necessary causal or adversative bearing, or, briefly, the non-temporal qualitative *quom*-clause.¹

The adversative idea will of course occur in varying degrees of intensity, the weakest form of it being that of mere contrast.

It is evident now that the essential qualitative *quom*-clauses that remain after putting aside those that have indefinite antecedents form one undivided stream, passing with imperceptible flow from a barely qualitative temporal narrative clause at the one extreme to a non-temporal qualitative clause at the other.

The non-essential *quom*-clauses, those that refer to an expressed or felt *nunc, hoc ipso tempore*, etc., in nearly all cases must have the same causal or adversative bearing upon their main clauses that we have seen in the case of the essential clauses; and the same development of a non-temporal causal-adversative *quom*-clause would consequently take place in this field. Compare the following examples, in the first three of

¹ It is interesting to see that the locative relative *ubi* likewise took some steps in the direction of being converted into a causal particle in Latin, just as *da* has been in German:—

Quid me oportet facere, **ubi** tu talis vir falsum autumas? Plaut., Capt., 955.

Quas tu mulieres,

Mihi narras, **ubi** musca nulla feminast in aedibus. Plaut., Truc., 283-4.

Add Val. Max., 5, 3, Ext.

which the temporal idea is weak, while in the last two it has practically disappeared : —

Ergo **quom** optume **fecisti**, **nunc** adest occasio
Benefacta cumulare.

Plaut., Capt., 423.

Nam **nunc quom** celo sedulo omnis, ne sciant,
Omnes videntur scire.

Plaut., Aul., 113-4.

Tene asumbolum venire unctum atque lautum e balneis
Otiosum ab animo, **quom** ille et cura et sumptu **absumitur**.

Ter., Phorm., 339-40.

Praesertim quom is me dignum quoi concederet
Habuit, me habere honorem eius ingenio decet.

Plaut., As., 79-81.

Omnia habeo, neque quicquam habeo : nil **quom est**, nil deficit **tamen**.

Ter., Eun., 243.

We may briefly group the more important of our results as follows : —

Type A. *The (more or less qualitative) narrative quom clause : (a) without causal-adversative bearing ; (b) with causal-adversative bearing.*

Type B. *The incidentally determinative qualitative quom-clause, with pronominal antecedent is, ille, or tum, expressed or clearly felt : (a) without causal-adversative bearing ; (b) with causal-adversative bearing.*

Type C. *The non-temporal qualitative (pure causal-adversative) quom clause.*

The types of construction sketched for the *quom*-clauses of course find their parallels, to at least a considerable extent, in the clauses after the other temporal particles *quoniam* (= *quom iam*, *when now*, *now that*), *quando*, *ubi*, *ut*, *postquam*, and *simul atque*. The correspondence of these clauses with the narrative *quom*-clauses is obvious ; while the ease with which they take on a causal coloring has been illustrated in Chapter I. In fact, the *quoniam*- and the *quando*-clauses, though still retaining a temporal use, have by the time of Plautus come clearly to betray a tendency to drift in the non-temporal (causal) direction, and so to abandon to the uncompounded and visibly temporal *quom* their place in the expression of temporal ideas.

Such, if we neglect for the moment a few suspicious examples whose claims we shall weigh later, is the state of the *quom*-clauses as they were when Plautus wrote.

But it is not Latin idiom that we have been describing. Speaking in the rough, the history of these constructions has been the same in all languages. Clauses with *ἐπεί*, *ἐπειδή*, *puisque*, *weil*, *während*, *while*, *when*, and *since* have run, to a greater or less extent, the same course. The English *when*-clause, in particular, corresponds in a very considerable degree to the *quom*-clause as it was in the time of Plautus; and one cannot get a better understanding of the latter than by studying the former. I add illustrations, prefixing examples of the determinative *when*-clause.

The determinative when-clause.

At the time when he wrote, the real drift of this new manner of pleasing people in fiction was not yet apparent. Robert Louis Stevenson, "Familiar Studies of Men and Books," Voltaire.

When we left her, she had fourteen feet of water in her hold, her rudder was gone, and she was a complete wreck. New York "Evening Post," July 1, 1887.

Type A. *The (more or less obviously qualitative) narrative when-clause; advancing the story.*

(a) *Without causal-adversative bearing.*

I worked at it a long time, and thought when I got through that I had produced an interesting book. But **when** I submitted it to my father, he rather discouraged me by commenting upon its lack of finish and polish. New York "Evening Post," Jan. 11, 1887.

(b) *With causal-adversative bearing, faint or strong.*

With great misgiving and reluctance, after trying in vain his efforts as reconciler, Cicero joined that party (the Senatorial) in the fatal campaign of Pharsalia. **When** Pompey was dead, and the Senatorial party finally crushed, Cicero submitted, with apparent good will, to the dictatorship of Caesar. Allen and Greenough's "Cicero," Introduction, pp. xiii-xiv.

Type B. *The temporal (incidentally determinative) qualitative when-clause (with pronominal antecedent, the or a, expressed or clearly felt).*

(a) *Without causal-adversative bearing.*

It was **an age in which** people had carried the art of enjoyment to its height. "Macmillan's Magazine," Nov., 1887, p. 77.

"The death of Sir Charles Macgregor is a misfortune for England and India," says the "St. James's Gazette," "especially since it comes **at a time when** the Empire may at any moment have to call for the services of its ablest officers." New York "Evening Post," Feb. 24, 1887.

. . . It was written **when** the strife **raged** fiercest between ancient and modern ideals; and, finally, it was written **in all the plenitude of my powers, when** my soul **was sanest** and **most joyful** in the possession of an enviable optimism and an all-embracing love and sympathy for humanity, that, to my misfortune, can never again find place within my breast. Juan Valera, "Pepita Ximenez" (English translation), Preface, p. vii.

He found us **when** the age **had bound**
Our souls in its benumbing round.

Arnold, "Memorial Verses."

(b) *With causal-adversative bearing.*

The "Journal de St. Pétersbourg," commenting on the inspired article in last Monday's London "Post," warning Turkey against coquetting any further with Russia, says: "The inspirers of the 'Post' chose **a moment** to utter their threats of war **when** all the European cabinets **were** conscientiously **seeking** to reconcile the divergent interests which the Bulgarian crisis had created, and **when** Turkey and Russia **had agreed** upon a solution reconciling their interests in conformity with the Berlin treaty." (*When* and *because* . . .) New York "Evening Post," Dec. 22, 1886.

When the books of a year and of a library **were counted** by hundreds or thousands, learned men could really know what was best to be known, and mastered that best. (*When* and *because*. . .) Frederic Harrison, "The Choice of Books."

At a time when the wealth and integrity of the Roman people **were decaying** more and more under the selfish rule of the nobility, he neither endeavored, like Cato, to arrest the increasing degeneracy by legal or constitutional means, nor did he conceive the idea of a reform, like his grandsons, the two Gracchi. Ihne, "History of Rome" (English edition), iv. 334.

"Is it not amazing," thus he wrote in 1773, "that, **at a time when** the rights of humanity **are defined** and **understood** with precision, in a country above all others fond of liberty, in **such** an age we find men, professing a religion the most humane, mild, meek, gentle, and generous, adopting a principle as repugnant to humanity as it is inconsistent with the Bible and destructive to liberty?" Moses Coit Tyler's "Patrick Henry," p. 346.

More curious still is it that, **when** France **was torn** to pieces by the quarrels of the Burgundians and the Armagnacs and by the frightful excesses of the English invaders, a young peasant girl should have revived the hopes of the country, then brought to the verge of ruin by the criminal ambition of the haughtiest of her nobles. **When** these nobles **had long failed** to rescue France, she raised the fortunes of the king, and inspired her countrymen with such enthusiasm that they were able to make a united effort to drive out the stranger. Stillé, "Studies in Mediæval History," p. 155.

In the next two examples the temporal force of *when* is very nearly gone, while the causal or adversative force is marked and strong: —

The storekeepers are forced to decline giving credit longer, **when** there **is** no prospect of the men returning to work for some time. (*When*, and because of the fact that . . .) Boston "Transcript," Aug. 21, 1886.

It is an affecting story, as told by our correspondent with becoming succinctness and simplicity; and scarcely had the Christmas holidays run out when it was matched by a similar story of our own men of the Little-Island Life-Saving Station on the Virginia coast, who went off in "a furious sea," **when** "death **seemed** certain," to the rescue of the crew of the German ship "Elizabeth." (*When*, and *in spite of the fact that* . . .) New York "Evening Post," Jan. 12, 1887.

Type C. *The non-temporal qualitative (causal-adversative) when-clause.*

The tears are in your eyes. What shall happen, **when** our strong doctor **has** tears in his eyes? You have something still harder for me to hear, I am afraid. E. H. House, Tone Santo, "Atlantic Monthly," April, 1888.

"This man is spoiling me," said Loof to his wife; "he assures me that our children are lovely, **when** I **know** that they are full of faults." Tolstoi, "Anna Karénina" (English translation), 7, 4.

He had no right to choose death, **when** he **had** others to live for (when = in view of, and in spite of, the fact that). W. D. Howells, "Lemuel Barker," cap. 34.

Compare the adversative use of *whenas*, *whereas*, *while*.

All the uses of the Latin *quom*-clause, then, are familiar in the English *when*-clause, except that the causal sense is rare, being generally conveyed in preference by the grammatically similar *now that*, or *now*, as follows: —

But oh the heavy change, *now* thou art gone,
Now thou art gone, and never must return.

Milton, "Lycidas," 33.

Yet the ease with which the *when*-clause brings two acts into the same field of view is so great that *when* occasionally finds employment in the colloquial style in place of the causal *now that*, or *since*. The following, *e. g.*, which I heard in conversation, illustrates this causal use of *when*, and, in the same sentence, the adversative and temporal uses: —

When you admire me so much **when** you don't know me, what will you think of me **when** you know me well?

When we come, then, to treat the subjunctive narrative and causal-adversative *quom*-clauses of classical Latin, our task will not be to trace the growth of these various powers of the *quom*-clause (already now seen for early Latin and for English), but only to show in what way the shift of mode came about.

THE ENTRANCE OF THE QUALITATIVE SUBJUNCTIVE INTO THE VARIOUS QUALITATIVE *Quom*-CLAUSES (CLASSICAL LATIN).

The genesis of the causal-adversative *quom*-clause cannot have been similar to that which we found to be probable for the causal-adversative *qui*-clauses, namely, through a consecutive-justifying use. Combinations which employ *quom* after a temporal antecedent in the way in which *qui* is employed in *sumne ego nihili qui nequeam ingenio moderari meo* do not occur in Plautus, nor, so far as I have noticed, anywhere in the literature. And, if similar combinations should occur, the sharper relative *quo*, *qua*, or *quibus* would be likely to be employed, rather than *quom*.

But, on the other hand, an influence may well have been exerted upon the causal-adversative *quom*-clause by the rise of the subjunctive in the causal-adversative *qui*-clause. When an association of a causal or adversative idea with the subjunctive introduced by a *qui*, *quoinus*, *quoi*, *quem*, *quo*, etc., had once been formed, it would be quite possible, at first sporadically, to drop into the use of the same mode in connection with the same idea after the word *quom*, itself obviously a form of the simple declinable relative, and interchangeable with it in many sentences.¹ Such may be the true explanation of the three (or four) cases in Plautus, and the two in Terence, cited on p. 51 of Part I. of this study. Whether we should take this view or not, depends on evidence, insufficient at the best, which will be weighed presently.

¹ It has been pointed out by Lübbert, Pätzolt, and others that the subjunctive construction with *quom* causal is rather to be referred to the influence of the causal *qui*-construction than *vice versa*, as has been the ordinary way.

We return to the development of the subjunctive qualitative *quom*-clause after Plautus.

We have seen that by his time the construction had already had a considerable growth, along a line parallel with that of the qualitative *qui*-clause. Both kinds of clauses are freely used in early Latin after negative and indefinite antecedents. But neither of them appears in sentences of Category V., i. e., after antecedents like *is*, *id tempus*, *eo tempore*, and the like. The perception of the possibility of a qualitative use of *is* and *ille* had indeed begun to show itself; but the completing expression of the quality does not yet employ the *qui*-clause, which is in such common use later (as in Cic., Att., 2, 24, 3: *Eumque in eo loco constituit, quo Bibulo consuli adspirare non liceret*), but the somewhat clumsier and more conscious *ut*-clause (still occasionally occurring later): —

In **eum** haec revenit res locum, **ut**, quid consili
Dem meo sodali super amica, **nesciam**. Plaut., Bacch., 606-7.

In **eum** iam res rediit locum,
Ut sit necessus. Ter., Haut., 359-60.

Even where the consecutive-qualitative idea seems fairly obvious, the expression of it is not as in the later usage: —

Hic verost, **qui** si occeperit,
Ludum iocumque **dicet** fuisse illum alterum,
Praeut huius rabies quae dabit. Ter., Eun., 299-301.

We should expect a subjunctive in place of *dicet*, whether with or without an expressed qualitative *is* or *ille* in the main clause. (See also the *ingenium cui . . . suadet* of Ennius, cited on pp. 210 and 213, which may be a correct quotation of an archaic construction.)

Similarly, the qualitative idea does not show itself by the subjunctive, in clauses corresponding to facts, after a temporal antecedent (not negative or indefinite); or, if it does show itself, it is expressed by the conscious *tale* with an *ut*-clause: —

Nunc est profecto, interfici **quom** perpeti me **possum**.
Ter., Eun., 551.

Spero ego mihi quoque
Tempus tale eventurum, **ut** tibi gratiam **referam** parem.
Plaut., Merc., 998-9.

When, with the development of forms of expression, the language comes to express the qualitative idea after *is*, etc., by the relative with the consecutive subjunctive, there will, of course, be no difference of fate between the *qui*-clause and the practically identical *quom*-clause. Now this development of expression actually took place somewhere between Terence and Cicero; for when the literature reappears, after the melancholy gap of three quarters of a century, these constructions are in familiar and firmly fixed use. I may now quote again, then, the two sentences cited above as finding no parallel in Plautus's time. The first of the two is taken from Livy, for the sake of the correspondence of its phraseology with that of the second, but is entirely in the Ciceronian manner: —

Oblitus itaque imperi patris consulumque edicti praeceptis ad **id** certamen agitur, **quo** vinceret an vinceretur haud multum **interesset** (. . . a contest of the following kind . . .). Liv., 8, 7, 8.

In **id** saeculum Romuli cecidit aetas, **quom** iam plena Graecia poetarum et musicorum **esset** minorque fabulis nisi de veteribus rebus **haberetur** fides (. . . an age of the following kind . . .). Cic., Rep., 2, 10, 18.

Here, then, is the fully developed qualitative *qui-quom*-clause of Category V.

I add two more passages, in Ciceronian syntax, though from later writers: —

Propius vocato quaestore “libamus” inquit “Iovi liberatori. Specta, iuvenis; et omen quidem dei prohibeant; ceterum in **ea** tempora natus es, **quibus** firmare animum **expediat** constantibus exemplis” Tac., Ann., 16, 35.

It is, of course, immaterial to the construction whether **quibus** or **quom** be used.

The second — a very instructive passage — occurs in Nep., Att., 8, 1. I give the two readings between which the editors are divided (Cdd. *illud quo*): —

Secutum est **illud tempus** occiso Caesare, **quo** res publica penes Brutos **videretur** esse et Cassium ac tota civitas se ad eos convertisse **videretur**.

Secutum est **illud** occiso Caesare, **quom** res publica penes Brutos **videretur** esse et Cassium ac tota civitas se ad eos convertisse **videretur**.

Either construction is sound Latin, and the question which emendation shall be adopted turns wholly upon considerations

of phrasology. The passage is therefore all the more illustrative for our purpose.

The subjunctive qualitative construction with *qui* and *quom* once springing up and coming into use, the contrast between it and the determinative construction will be more and more clearly felt, and a complete differentiation between the two will in time be established. Such a differentiation is exhibited, for the *quom*-clauses, in the following (corresponding to Category V. of the last chapter): —

Determinative quom-clause (indicative).

Ne tu, Eruci, accusator esses ridiculus, si illis temporibus natus esses, **quom** ab aratro arcessebantur qui consules fierent. Cic., Rosc. Am. 18, 50. (... if you had been born in the days when men were summoned from the plough to the consulship.)

Quidnam homines putarent, si **tum** occisus esset, **quom** illum in foro spectante populo Romano gladio **insecutus es**? Cic., Phil., 2, 9, 21. (... if he had been killed at the time when you pursued him in the Forum with a sword.)

Qualitative quom-clause (subjunctive).

Accepit enim agrum **temporibus eis, quom iacerent** pretia praediorum (He got the farm at a time when prices were down, — in hard times). Cic., Rosc. Com., 12, 33.

Brundisio quae tibi epistolae redditae sunt sine mea, **tum** videlicet datae sunt, **quom** ego me non belle **haberem**. Cic., Att., 5, 11, 7; (were written, you must understand, at a time when I was not feeling well.)

The subjunctive passages well illustrate the use of the new qualitative apparatus to give *the character of the time at which* the main act took place (through characterizing an antecedent *eo tempore, tum*, etc.), — or, briefly, *to express the character of the situation*; while the indicative passages illustrate the contrasting use of the determinative apparatus, to instruct the reader *what the time was at which* the main act took place, — or, briefly, *to date the main act*.

These subjunctive passages belong to Type *B.* of our sketch of the special functions of the qualitative *quom*-clause (pp. 153-5). Now we found in that sketch that Type *B.* lies in the midst of the stream which flows without break from the lightest type of narrative clause at one end to the non-temporal qualitative clause (pure causal-adversative clause) at the other, everywhere sharply separated from the determinative clause, but in itself affording no divisions, unless we fix our attention

upon points in the stream at a distance from one another. Into the midst of this stream, then, has entered, with the rise of sentences of Category V. (Type *B.*) the subjunctive qualitative construction. It is inevitable that, having once made this beginning, it should spread rapidly in both directions, — in the one direction through the strongly qualitative narrative clause (Type *A.*) to the weaker and still weaker narrative clause, until it stops at the firm boundary set up by the determinative clause; and, in the other direction, from the temporal qualitative clause with causal-adversative bearing through clauses with stronger qualitative and weaker temporal force, until it reaches the wholly non-temporal (pure causal-adversative) qualitative clause (Type *C.*). The very fact that the feeling of all these clauses is in sharp opposition to that of the determinative clause would accelerate the spread of the qualitative mode through the whole non-determinative territory.

As regards the rate of development of the subjunctive types of these clauses, we may perhaps hazard the suggestion that the development would be most rapid in the direction in which the qualitative idea gained at the expense of the temporal (pure causal-adversative clause), being perhaps hastened through that association of the causal-adversative idea with the subjunctive which had already been reached in the *qui*-clauses; while it would last reach the lightest type of the narrative clause, in which the qualitative feeling is almost impalpable. Our collection of examples in the next chapter appears to confirm this suggestion.

In the last two paragraphs we have passed by the crisis of the investigation. But I desire to meet it more explicitly, and to point out precisely where the issue lies.

It is my conviction that the subjunctive which we have seen in the last few examples is identical with that of the strongly qualitative narrative clause, and of its various products. The considerations in favor of this theory are several: —

1. No natural barrier can exist between such a sentence as the last and an inverted type, like *quom iam iacerent pretia*

praediorum, agrum accepit, or, better still, a type like the following: —

Quom ius amicitiae, societatis, adfinitatis **ageretur**, **quom** officii rationem atque existimationis duci **conveniret**, **eo tempore** tu non modo non ad C. Aquilium aut ad L. Lucilium rettulisti, sed ne ipse quidem te consulisti. Cic., Quinct., 16, 53.

A stay of proceedings at this point would be more remarkable than a continuation. We may, then, rightly suppose *quom . . . conveniret* in the last sentence to be a qualitative clause expressing the character of *eo tempore*. In addition, it is but a step removed from the narrative form, and, further still, its contents are in opposition to those of the main verb. It is then at once *temporal* (incidentally *placing eo tempore*), *qualitative*, and *adversative*; and so exhibits the essentially identical nature of the narrative, the full qualitative, and the causal-adversative clauses.

2. A careful analysis of the idea of *time* has shown us that it has two distinct aspects. Now, if these two aspects exist, a language which developed a distinct modal means of expressing the latter, as we have seen the Latin express it in the last few examples, would not fail to carry the distinction throughout the whole extent of the temporal clauses. Every time that a qualitative subjunctive was used, the effect would be to mark off and accent the true and individual character of the determinative indicative; and the final result of such a continued process of accentuation would be that the indicative, once universal, would be driven out of all qualitative clauses, whether strong or slight, and be confined within true determinative ground.

I add other considerations, which, though bearing more particularly upon the further development of the doctrine, are conveniently given here.

3. The theory has the merit of founding its explanations upon a cause which has been proved to exist.

4. The theory, unlike those explanations, instead of postulating a cause to suit the phenomena, as is the case with the theories discussed on pp. 3 and 4 of Part I., contradicts no proved fact in the language.

5. The theory is not only consonant with the undeniable correspondences of function which we have already seen between the *quom*-clause and the *qui*-clause, but also, as will be seen in the next chapter, affords perfect working distinctions when we apply to *qui* and *quom* alike the categories under which the *qui*-constructions fell in the last chapter. I have, in fact, great confidence in the persuasive power of such an exhibit.

6. The theory naturally accounts for the otherwise very remarkable correspondences of phraseology in the *qui*-clauses and the *quom*-clauses: *ut qui* and *ut quom*, *utpote qui* and *utpote quom*, *quippe qui* and *quippe quom*, *praesertim qui* and *praesertim quom*, — correspondences rendered all the more noteworthy by the fact that these introductory particles are not used with causal conjunctions other than *quom*.

7. As will be seen presently, the theory explains (as no other theory has done) why, while *quom* develops a narrative, causal, and adversative subjunctive, the narrative particles *postquam*, *ubi*, *ut*, and *simul atque* do not develop a subjunctive, nor the causal particles *quoniam*, *quando*, *quod*, and *quia*, nor the adversative particle *quamquam*.

If the theory is accepted for the narrative clause of strongly qualitative type, there can be no question of the extension of the mode, used with the same feeling, through other essential clauses less and less strongly qualitative, yet far removed from determination; nor, in the other direction, can there be any doubt of the taking on of a stronger and stronger causal-adversative force, with an accompanying weakening, and finally a total disappearance, of the temporal force. The inevitable presence of a causal-adversative force in many such sentences is illustrated by the examples of phrases like *in tali tempore*, as we saw them above, on p. 144; and the moment the temporal force of *quom* is gone, the causal or adversative qualitative force is left in sole possession.

Such an association of the causal-adversative idea with the subjunctive in essential *quom*-clauses would lead to an invasion

of the territory of the non-essential *quom*-clauses; just as the association of the causal-adversative idea with the same mode in essential *qui*-clauses led to an invasion of the territory of the non-essential *qui*-clauses. But, on the other hand, the *qualitative* mode in non-essential *quom*-clauses, as in non-essential *qui*-clauses, was the indicative; and the speaker may therefore employ this form of qualitative expression, in the one clause as in the other, thereby conveying the causal-adversative idea without expressing it (the tacit causal-adversative clause). In a certain sense, then, it is a matter of indifference which mode shall be used in these clauses.

A similar state of affairs would result in the *quom-tum* (= *non modo sed etiam*) clauses. The associations pointed out in treating the original indicative construction would lead to an easy-going use of the apparatus without reference to its true original force, — a use which, in fact, even goes so far as to end in the employment of the *quom* without any verb at all. We are not surprised, then, to find that, though some of these clauses, in a strict analysis, belong to the *essential* constructions, the indicative always maintains its footing. But, on the other hand, we are not surprised to see the idea of *contrast*, which is involved in the *cumulative* feeling of the combination, occasionally explicitly expressed by the subjunctive, just as it occasionally is in *qui*-clauses of corresponding force (see following chapter, p. 180). Here again, as in the non-essential *quom*-clauses with necessary causal or adversative force, it is in a certain sense a matter of indifference which mode shall be used.

We have seen that the subjunctive in the *quom*-constructions is due to the fact that *quom* is only a special form of *qui*; and we have found that the point of entrance of the mode was the clauses of Type *B*. (Category V. of the *qui-quom*-clauses in the next chapter), in which either *quom*, or *quo*, *qua*, or *quibus* might serve, without distinction, as the relative for a demonstrative antecedent *is*, *ille*, etc., with *dies*, *nox*, *tempus*, etc., or a demonstrative antecedent *tum*. It is easily clear, then, why *postquam*, *ubi*, *ut*, and *simul atque* do not develop a regular subjunctive construction. They do not serve as relatives, interchangeable with *quo*, *qua*, or *quibus*, for an *id tempus*, *eo tempore*,

etc. We do not find an *eo tempore ubi*, etc. ; though it is of course conceivable that, if the specific temporal relative *quom* had never been struck out, a locative relative like *ubi* or *uti* might have settled down into the same meaning, and have developed all the modal uses which we have found for *quom*. In no case, however, could *postquam* or *simul atque* have served as a strict relative for an expressed antecedent *eo tempore*.

As for *quoniam* and *quando*, they might well have had the same history with the *quom*-clauses, if the development which we have seen had begun earlier. But by the time of Plautus the use of these particles as pure temporal relatives was largely passing away,¹ in favor of the special function of expressing cause or hindrance; and the rise of the subjunctive in Category V. consequently found no *id tempus quoniam* to work upon, and too rare an *id tempus quando* to lead to any result.

As for *quod*, *quia*, and *quamquam*, it is obvious that they were never temporal relatives.

THE TENSES IN THE CLASSICAL *Quom*-CONSTRUCTIONS.

In the determinative construction, any tense of the past² or the future may be used; for either an act viewed as going on, or an act viewed in summary, may serve to fix the time of another act. The present and present perfect, on the other hand, can of course occur only in the generalizing clause, since the temporal antecedents that express the present point of view, e. g., *nunc* and *hoc tempore*, are self-determining.

It remains to speak of the uses of the tenses in the special developments of the qualitative *quom*-constructions.

We found in early Latin two kinds of indicative narrative *quom*-clauses,—the aoristic type, in which the tense did not

¹ Even in Terence, a temporal force can hardly be detected in *quoniam*, while *quando* temporal does not occur at all. Schmalz, *Lateinische Grammatik (Syntax)*, §§ 266, 276.

² The rule of thumb which one occasionally hears, that the subjunctive is always to be used if the tense is the imperfect or pluperfect, must be condemned as both unreasoning and untrue.

contribute to express the state of affairs under which the main act took place; and the accessory type, in which the tense did contribute to express this idea. The latter, then, is, so far as early Latin succeeds in going, the situation-exhibiting clause. Now, the special function of that subjunctive *quom*-clause with which the metamorphosis of mode began is to exhibit the situation (if, as in most cases, its antecedent were an *eo tempore* or *tum*, etc.); and it is also the special function of all the possible shades of narrative clauses, and all possible shades of non-temporal qualitative causal or adversative clauses, to do the same thing,—to exhibit the nature of the situation. But a situation in the past is regularly expressed, whether in dependent or independent clauses, whether in the subjunctive or the indicative, by an imperfect or pluperfect, and a situation in the present by a present or a perfect. So, then, the metamorphosis of mode by which the qualitative narrative clause of classical Latin came about would operate upon the imperfect and pluperfect indicatives, the *tense* of which already dealt with the state of affairs. As the qualitative mode came in, the qualitative tense would come with it; while the old habit of using the aorist after *quom* in rapid, situation-neglecting narration, would little by little die away. That it died slowly, we shall see in the tables of the next chapter.

The settling-down of the subjunctive narrative clause upon the imperfect and pluperfect tenses would of course leave all the field of rapid, point-by-point narration to the clauses with *postquam*, *ubi*, *ut*, and *simul atque*. But these particles would naturally also occasionally be used to introduce a situation expressed by the imperfect or pluperfect. They kept, therefore, that range of tense which the subjunctive narrative *quom*-clauses lost. And it is important to notice that, when used with the imperfect or pluperfect, such clauses, though they differ from the subjunctive *quom*-clauses, yet approach them. In so far as they have, like these clauses, the tenses which indicate states of affairs, they share in the feeling expressed by them. They differ in that the mode is not also qualitative, as well as the tense. The distinction between the two kinds of situation-exhibiting clauses is, then, somewhat like the distinction be-

tween the indicative causal clauses and the subjunctive causal clauses: the subjunctive *quom*-clause fully expresses the idea which the imperfect or pluperfect indicative clause with *postquam*, etc., partially expresses; and the difference is so small that either clause is always convertible into the other.

I have said that in the metamorphosis of the *quom*-clauses the aoristic type died away little by little. To this statement there is one exception. Just as the phrase *simul atque* is especially suited to rapid (aoristic) narration, so *quom primum* carries with it a natural aoristic feeling which preserves the old aoristic perfect indicative after the clauses with the simple *quom* have gone over into the subjunctive. To the list *postquam*, *simul atque*, *ubi*, and *ut*, we must therefore add *quom primum*. Yet even this connective does not wholly escape the influence of the simple *quom* clause; for the imperfect subjunctive also occurs in the sense of "as soon as the condition of affairs was so and so," as in the passage from Caes., B. G., 2, 22.

So much for the tenses of the *quom*-clauses when they deal with the past. When they deal with the present the tenses will be those that express a present state of affairs (present and present perfect), or a remote act that now stands as a precedent (aorist). It must not be forgotten, however, that the subjunctive, when it occurs in these clauses, is not qualitative, but causal, and has come in from the essential clauses. The present time, as in *nunc quom*, is self-explained, and the mode of the qualitative clause referring to it is therefore the indicative. Such an indicative clause, as we saw in No. 3 of this chapter and on p. 119 of Chapter III., constitutes the *tacit* causal-adversative construction.

When the *quom*-clauses deal with the future, the tenses will be those that express a state of affairs in the future (future and future perfect). It seems at first sight a striking and unexpected fact that the mode is regularly the indicative. But the *qui*-constructions will again serve us. They likewise habitually have the indicative in the future in corresponding examples, no

matter how clearly their contents may indicate character. The reason is that acts which lie in the future are not facts, like acts that lie in the past, but are *expectations*. When, therefore, such an act is presented in the form of a relative clause (supposing it not to be after a negative or indefinite antecedent), it has rather the feeling of an *assumption* than of an actual occurrence that can be used to exhibit character. With whatever feeling of confidence it is counted upon, it still remains an assumption; and this mingled feeling of confidence and assumption (= *if*, *as I expect*, or *if, as I intend*) would express itself in the fact-assuming indicative. When, on the other hand, the subjunctive is used with *qui* or *quom*, as it occasionally is, the result is a less vivid future condition, as in the passage Rud. 966-67, cited on p. 82.

CHAPTER V.

THE *QUI*- AND *QUOM*-CONSTRUCTIONS (CONTINUED). WORKING CATEGORIES AND TABLES.

WE have learned that the presence of the subjunctive in the *quom*-constructions is due to that part of its nature which *quom* shares with *qui*, while the rise of the narrative and causal-adversative uses is due to that part of the nature of *quom* which is peculiar to itself. When, then, we apply to *quom* and *qui* alike, in the present chapter, the categories under which the *qui*-constructions have fallen in Chapter III., we shall expect to find, by reason of the essential identity of *quom* and *qui*, certain exact correspondences. But we shall also, by reason of the idiosyncrasies which the temporal relative possesses in all languages, expect to find, in one of these common categories, points of departure for developments of the *quom*-constructions upon lines along which the *qui*-constructions will not follow.

Since the aim of the present chapter is mainly to apply to the *quom*-constructions the categories already fully illustrated for the *qui*-constructions in Chapter III., only one or two examples of *qui*-clauses will be given, for either mode, under each heading.

As in Chapter III., indicative constructions will be placed upon the left, subjunctive upon the right.

I. The developing subjunctive qualitative *qui-quom*-construction after indefinite antecedents.

Examples of the undeveloped type (indicative).

Sunt in quibus flaminum latent origines. Varro, L. L., 7, 3, 90.

Examples of the type finally reached by the development (subjunctive).

Sunt qui dicant post annum et sex menses eculum domari posse. Varro, R. R., 2, 7, 13.

Verum **tempestas**, vita mea, quondam
fuit,

Quom inter nos **sordebamus** alter
alteri.

Plaut., Truc., 380, 381. (*Sorderemus*,
B. C. D. The true indicative is restored
from A.)

(Of course it is possible that a definite
conception was attached to *quondam*, in
which case the example belongs under
the sub-class of this category.)

Est quom complexionem superseden-
dum **est**, si res brevis est, ut facile
memoria comprehendatur; **est quom**
exornatio praetermittenda **est**, si parum
locuples ad amplificandum et exornan-
dum res videtur esse. Cornific., 2, 19, 30.

Est etiam quom vis extrinsecus incita
venti

Incidit in gravidam maturo fulmine
nubem.

Lucr., 6, 295-6.

Fuit tempus quom rura **colerent**
homines, neque urbem **haberent**.
Varro, R. R., 3, 1.

The same back-eddy, due to the association of the subjunctive
after general antecedents with the idea of indefiniteness, is
found in the *quom*-clauses as in the *qui*-clauses:

SUB-CLASS.

**The indicative after antecedents
indefinitely expressed, but de-
finitely conceived.**

Duo sunt artes, quae possunt locare
homines in amplissimo gradu dignitatis,
una imperatoris, altera oratoris boni.
Cic., Mur., 14, 30.

Nam **fuit quoddam tempus, quom**
in agris homines passim bestiarum modo
vagabantur et sibi victu fero vitam
propagabant, nec ratione animi quic-
quam, sed pleraque viribus corporis **ad-
ministrabant**. Cic., Minv., 1, 2, 2.

Sed **incidunt saepe tempora,**
quom ea, quae maxime videntur digna
esse iusto homine coque, quem virum
bonum dicimus, **commutantur fiunt-
que** contraria. Cic., Off., 1, 10, 31.

**The subjunctive after antecedents
indefinitely expressed and con-
ceived.**

Duo sunt tempora quibus no-
strorum civium **spectentur** iudicia de
nobis, unum honoris, alterum salutis
Cic., Vat., 4, 10.

Ac **fuit antea tempus, quom** Ger-
manos Galli virtute **superarent**. Caes.,
B. G., 6, 24, 1. Similarly Cic., De Or.
1, 1, 1.

Sed **incidunt**, ut supra dixi, **saepe**
causae, **quom** repugnare utilitas hone-
stati **videatur**, ut animadvertendum sit,
repugnetne plane an possit cum hone-
state coniungi. Cic., Off., 3, 12, 50.

(This example is, in itself alone, a sufficient defence of the indicative in *sunt qui non audent* (ibid. 1, 24, 84), cited on p. 111; for *incidunt tempora quom* is as vague a phrase as *sunt qui*).

II. The causal-adversative *qui-quom*-construction after self-defining antecedents (i. e., in non-essential clauses).

We have found (on pp. 156 *seq.*) that the rise of the causal-adversative subjunctive with *quom* takes place at a later point of the common development of the *qui-quom*-constructions (namely the point corresponding to Category V. of Chapter III.) than does the causal-adversative subjunctive with *qui*. Since, then, we are now dealing more especially with *quom*, the treatment of Category II. will necessarily be postponed until after that of Category V.

III. The classifying *qui-quom*-construction.

Examples of the undeveloped (strictly determinative) type.

Habes totum rei publicae statum, **qui quidem** tum erat, quom has litteras dabam. Cic., ad Brut., 1, 10, 5.

Examples of the developed classifying or restrictive type.

Numquam illum ne minima quidem re offendi, **quod quidem senserim**. Cic., Lael., 27, 103.

Nam M. Drusum tuum magnum avunculum, gravem oratorem, ita **dumtaxat quom** de republica diceret. . . . Cic., Brut., 62, 222.

I have found no example of the indicative with *quom restrictive* (in Cic., Fam., 7, 28, 1, *quom quidem haec urbs* occurs, but without a verb), nor is the example of the subjunctive here cited entirely satisfactory. The construction, but for the restrictive feeling, would, to be sure, naturally be the generalizing indicative, as shown under Category VIII. But it will also appear, under that category, that the presence of the idea which is ordinarily associated with the subjunctive occasionally

brings about the use of that mode even in generalizing clauses (p. 232).

IV. The loosely attached (added or inserted) qualitative *qui-quom*-clause (indicative) versus the closely attached qualitative or causal-adversative *qui-quom*-clause (subjunctive).

For the same reason as in the case of Category II., the present category must be postponed to its proper place in connection with Category V.

V. Determinative (indicative) *qui-quom*-clauses versus qualitative (subjunctive) clauses, without or with causal-adversative bearing.

In the present category we reach, for the *quom*-constructions, the most important passage of our investigation. For the category deals with the qualitative-consecutive phraseology, *is qui, ille qui*, etc., — a form of expression which, if our conclusions are correct, first made its appearance somewhere in the time between Terence and Cicero, and, leading to a clear differentiation between the determinative idea and the qualitative idea, inevitably brought about the separation of clauses with *id tempus quo, id tempus quom*,¹ *eo tempore quo, eo tempore quom, tum quom*, and the like, into determinative indicative temporal clauses on the one hand, and qualitative subjunctive temporal clauses on the other; and, as a natural consequence, the eventual spread of the qualitative mode from the latter clauses through the closely related narrative and non-temporal (causal-adversative) *quom*-clauses.

As we follow the arrangement of Category V. of the *qui-*

¹ It must not be supposed that *quo* needs frequently to occur, as well as *quom*, with phrases like *id tempus*, in order that the subjunctive construction should be extended to the latter. *Quom* was to the Roman ear as full and obvious a relative as *quo*, and whatever feeling grew up in regard to the relative would take effect as directly upon *quom* as upon *quo*, or *qua*, or *quibus*.

clauses in Chapter III. (p. 125), the *quom*-constructions first presented to us belong to Type B of Chapter IV. (p. 152), which is as follows: —

THE INCIDENTALLY DETERMINATIVE QUALITATIVE *Quom*-CLAUSE, WITH PRONOMINAL ANTECEDENT *Is*, *Ille*, OR *Tum*, EXPRESSED OR CLEARLY FELT.

Carrying out the scheme used for the *qui*-clauses, we print examples of determinative clauses on the left. And, as before, it must be borne in mind that the speaker's choice between the determinative clause and the qualitative clause is, in most cases, purely one of emphasis upon the one or the other possible aspect of a given act. The mention of the act may be made in order to show *what sort of a person*, etc., is in mind, or in order to show *who* the person is who is in mind.¹ Both ideas cannot be expressed by a single verb in a single mode; and the speaker must therefore utter the one which is uppermost in his mind, and leave the other unuttered.

A. — WITHOUT CAUSAL-ADVERSATIVE BEARING.

Clauses primarily determinative (explaining what man, what thing, or what time the speaker or writer has in mind).

Eo tempore quo haec Canusii agerantur, Venusiam ad consulem ad quattuor milia et quingenti pedites equitesque, qui sparsi fuga per agros fuerant, pervenere. Livy, 22, 54, 1.

Fuerat **ille annus** iam in re publica, iudices, **quom** in magno motu et multorum timore intentus [est] arcus in me unum. Cic., Sest., 7, 15.

Secutum **illud tempus** est, **quom** me ad Pompeium proficisci sive pudor

Clauses primarily qualitative (explaining what kind of a man, what kind of a thing, what kind of a time that is which the speaker or writer has in mind).

In **ea tempora** natus es, quibus firmare animum **expediat** constantibus exemplis. Tac., Ann., 16, 35. (*Your lot has fallen upon times of the following character . . .*)

Dictatore habente comitia Caesare consules creantur Iulius Caesar et P. Servilius; **is** enim erat **annus, quo** per leges ei consulem fieri **liceret**. Caes., B. C., 3, 11.

Secutum est **illud tempus** occiso Caesare, **quo** res publica penes Brutos

¹ So *qui censeant* and *qui censeant* in Cic., Tusc., 1, 9, 18: Sunt **qui** nullum **censeant** fieri discessum. . . . **Qui** discedere animum **censeant**, alii statim dissipari, alii diu permanere, alii semper.

meus **coegit** sive officium sive fortuna. Cic., Fam., 11, 27, 4.

Ne tu, Eruci, accusator esses ridiculus, si **illis temporibus** natus esses, **quom** ab aratro **arcescebantur** qui consules fierent. Cic., Rosc. Am., 18, 50.

P. Clodium meo consilio interfectum esse dixisti. Quidnam homines putarent, si **tum** occisus esset, **quom** tu illum in foro spectante populo Romano gladio **insecutus es**? Cic., Phil., 2, 9, 21.

Sed haec Crassi **quom** edita oratio **est**, quam te saepe legisse certo scio, quattuor et triginta **tum** habebat annos. Cic., Brut., 43, 161.

videretur esse. Nep., Att., 8, 1. (Editors are divided between *illud tempus quo* and *illud quom*, either of which would serve our purpose.)

Acceptit enim agrum **temporibus eis, quom iacerent** pretia praediorum; qui ager neque villam habuit neque ex ulla parte fuit cultus: qui nunc multo pluris est quam tunc fuit; neque id est mirum. Cic., Rosc. Am., 12, 33.

Brundisio quae tibi epistolae redditae sunt sine mea, **tum** videlicet datae sunt, **quom** ego me non belle **haberem**. Cic., Att., 5, 11, 7. (. . . *were written, you must understand, at a time when I was not feeling well.*)

Beneficia ex sua vi, ex tempore, ex animo eius, qui fecit, ex casu considerantur. Ex sua vi quaerentur hoc modo: magna an parva, facilia an difficilia, singularia sint an volgaria, vera an falsa quadam exornatione honestentur; ex **tempore** autem, si **tum, quom** indigeremus, **quom** ceteri non **possent** aut **nollent** opitulari; si **tum, quom** spes **deseruisset**. Cic., Inv., 2, 38, 112. (. . . *according to the circumstances: if, e. g., at a time of need, if at a time of hopelessness, etc.*)

Eodem tempore praetor Antonius denariis III aestimavit, **post messem, summa in vilitate, quom** aratores frumentum dare gratis **mallent**. Cic., Verr., 2, 92, 215. (The *quom*-clause, like the two phrases with prepositions, expresses *the character of the situation*.)

When, as in the last four subjunctive examples, the antecedent of *quom* is an ablative of time, or the like, belonging to the main act, so that the qualitative clause gives the character of the time at which that act took place, we may define the force of the clause as follows: *the subjunctive quom-clause expresses the character of the situation*. It will be observed that, thus far, the situation does not stand to the main act in any relation of harmony or opposition.

The subjunctive examples now cited will be granted to be

clearly qualitative; and they suffice for the development of my argument. I wish to add, however, a number of suggestive cases which I should class under this head, though an objector might claim for some of them a subtle *oratio obliqua*, for others a shade of causal meaning.

Secutum illud tempus est, **quom** me ad Pompeium proficisci sive pudor meus **coegit** sive officium sive fortuna. Cic., Fam., 11, 27, 4.

Quem potes recordari in vita inluxisse tibi **diem** laetiozem quam **quom** expiato foro, dissipato concursu impiorum, principibus sceleris poena adfectis, urbe incendio et caedis metu liberata te domum recepisti? Cic., Phil., 1, 12, 31.

Tertius est annus .x. viralis consecutus, **quom** idem **essent** nec alios subrogare **voluissent**. In hoc statu rei publicae, quem dixi iam saepe non posse esse diuturnum, quod non esset in omnis ordines civitatis aequabilis, erat penes principes tota res publica, praepositis decem viris nobilissimis, non oppositis tribunis pl., nullis aliis adiunctis magistratibus, non provocatione ad populum contra necem et verbera relictæ. (Cic., Rep., 2, 37, 62. (*Then followed the third year of the decemvirate, the character of which was as follows . . .* It is interesting to see how this idea of the *character of the situation* is summed up and carried over into the next sentence by means of *in hoc statu rei publicae*.)

Quorum non nulli etiam **illum diem** memoria tenebant, **quom** illa eadem Diana Segestam Karthagine revectoria victoriam populi Romani reditu suo **nuntiasset**. Quam dissimilis hic dies illi tempori videbatur! tum imperator populi Romani, vir clarissimus, deos patrios reportabat Segestanis, ex urbe hostium recuperatos: nunc ex urbe sociorum praetor eiusdem populi turpissimus atque impurissimus eosdem illos deos nefario scelere auferebat. Cic. Verr., 4, 35, 77.

In the last subjunctive example, the fact cited is cited not primarily for the sake of making the hearers understand what day is in the speaker's mind, but for the sake of making them feel what kind of a day — how glorious a day — that day was which was in the speaker's mind.

It is worth noticing, also, that the qualitative character of the clause is reinforced by the independent illustrative statements that follow, explaining in full the qualitative *dissimilis*.

Interea dum tu abes, qui **dies ille** conlegae tui fuit, **quom** illud quod venerari solebas bustum in foro **evertit**? Cic., Phil., 2, 42, 107.

O praeclaram illam percursionem tuam mense Aprili atque Maio, **tum**, **quom** etiam Capuam coloniam deducere **conatus es**! Cic., Phil., 2, 39, 100.

O acerbam mihi, iudices, memoriam **temporis illius** et **loci**, **quom** hic in me incidit, **quom** **complexus est** **conspersitque** lacrimis nec loqui prae maerore **potuit**! o rem cum auditu crudelem tum visu nefariam! o reliquos omnis **dies noctisque eas**, **quibus** iste a me non recedens Thessalonicam me in quae-storiumque **perduxit**! Cic., Planc., 41, 99.

Recordare tempus illud, **quom** pater Curio maerens **iacebat** in lecto. Cic., Phil., 2, 18, 45.

Memini quom mihi desipere **vide-bare**, quod cum istis potius viveres quam nobiscum. Cic., Fam., 7, 28, 1.

Numerandus est **ille annus** denique in re publica, **quom** **obmutuisset** senatus, iudicia **conticuissent**, **maererent** boni, vis latrocinii vestri tota urbe **volitaret** neque civis unus ex civitate, sed ipsa civitas tuo et Gabinii sceleri furori-que **cessisset**? Cic., Pis., 12, 26.

Ponite igitur ante oculos, patres con-scripti, **miseram illam** quidem et **fle-bilem speciem**, sed ad incitandos nos-tros animos necessariam: nocturnum **im-petum** in urbem Asiae clarissimam, **inruptionem** armatorum in Trebonii domum, **quom** miser ille prius latronum gladios **videret**, quam quae res esset audisset. Cic., Phil., 11, 3, 7.

Recordare, quaeso, Dolabella, **con-sensum illum** theatri, **quom** omnes earum rerum obliti, propter quas fuerant tibi offensi, **significarent** se beneficio novo memoriam veteris doloris abiecis-sis. Cic., Phil., 1, 12, 31.

Meministi quidem, sub quadam ar-bore minimum umbrae spargente **quom velles** residere ferventissimo sole et **esset** asperrimus locus. . . . Sen., Ben., 5, 24, 1.

As in the *qui*-constructions we found that qualitative clauses must often chance to be used in sentences in which they had a causal or adversative bearing upon the main clause, so the qualitative *quom*-clause cannot escape the intrusion of the causal adversative idea, as in the examples to the right below. In such a case we may define the clause as expressing *the character of the situation, with incidental causal or adversative bearing upon the main act*.

The act of the determinative clause likewise often has a necessary causal or adversative relation to the main act; but with the important difference, that this form of the relative clause gram-

matically dispenses with, and only in spite of itself suggests, the idea of character, on which idea the notion of a causal or adversative relation between two acts must necessarily be based.

B. WITH INCIDENTAL CAUSAL-ADVERSATIVE BEARING.

Clauses primarily determinative.

Alter eos, **qui** nos omnis [qui populum Romanum] vita privare **conati sunt, qui** delere imperium, **qui** populi Romani nomen extinguere, punctum temporis frui vita et hoc communi spiritu non putat oportere. Cic., Cat., 4, 4, 7.

A quo enim genere, iudices, ego numquam timui, quom in illa rei publicae tempestate versarer; **illud** erat hominum genus horribile et pertimescendum, **qui** tanto amore suas possessiones amplexi **tenebant**, ut ab eis membra citius divelli ac distrahi posse diceres. Cic., Sull., 20, 59.

Civis erat expulsus **is, qui** rempublicam ex senatus auctoritate cum omnibus bonis **defenderat**. Cic., Sest., 24, 54.

Felices proavorum atavos, felicia dicas **Saecula, quae** quondam sub regibus atque tribunis

Viderunt uno contentam carcere Romanam. Iuv., 3, 312-4.

Nec **illius diei** memoriam perhorrescit, **quo ausus est** obrutus vino, unguentis oblitus, nudus gementem populum Romanum ad servitutem cohortari? Cic., Phil., 13, 15, 31.

Reducti exsules Byzantium condemnati **tum, quom** indemnati cives e civitate **eiciebantur**. Cic., Sest., 26, 56. (*At the very time at which . . .*)

Etsi **tum, cum** optimum te puta-

Clauses primarily qualitative.

Mandatum tuum curabo diligenter; sed homo acutus, **ei** mandasti potissimum, **cui expediret** illud venire quam plurimo. Cic., Fam., 7, 2, 1. (The sentence includes the following idea: *The man whom you selected for your commission was one for whose interest it was, etc.*)

Eam complexus est causam, **quae esset** senatui, **quae** populo, **quae** cunctae Italiae, **quae** dis hominibusque gratissima. Cic., Phil., 5, 16, 44. (The sentence includes the following idea: *The cause which he embraced was one that was in high favor with the senate, etc.*)

Pecunias profundunt in **eas res, quarum** memoriam aut brevem aut nullam omnino **sint relicturi . . .** Cic., Off., 2, 16, 55. (The sentence includes the following idea: *The things on which they lavish their money are things of which . . .*)

Ergo his institutis provinciae iam **tum quom** bello sociorum tota Italia arderet, homo non acerrimus nec fortissimus, C. Norbanus in summo otio fuit. Cic., Verr., 5, 4, 8. (*Includes the idea of the character of the time: the time at which Norbanus was in great security was one at which all Italy was ablaze.*)

C. Caesar adulescens, paene potius

bant me quidem dissentiente, funeri tyranni, si illud funus fuit, sceleratissime prae-fuisti. Cic., Phil., 2, 3, 6. (*At the time when . . .*)

Quod si **tum**, **quom** res publica vim et severitatem **desiderabat**, vici naturam et tam vehemens fui quam cogebam, non quam volebam. . . . Cic., Mur., 3, 6.

Atque ille **eo tempore** paruit, **quom** parere senatui necesse **erat**; vos **tunc** paruistis, **quom** **paruit** nemo, qui noluit. Cic., Lig., 7, 20. (*Tunc quom and eo tempore quom are the same thing with eo tempore quo. Compare the following:*

Eodem quo repulsus est die in comitio pila ludit. Sen., Ep. Mor., 104, 33. (*On the very day on which . . .*)

Id erat formidolosissimum hosti, **quom** velut victos insecuti novam repente aciem exsurgentem, auctam numero **cernebant**. Liv., 8, 8, 13

Tunc flesse decuit, **quom** **adempta sunt** nobis arma, incensae naves, interdictum externis bellis. Liv., 30, 44, 7. (*That was the time to weep, when . . .*)

Quodsi fuit in re publica tempus ullum, **quom** extorquere arma posset e manibus iratorum civium boni civis auctoritas et oratio, **tum** profecto fuit, **quom** patrocinium pacis **exclusum est**. Cic., Brut., 2, 8.

Quamquam qui umquam aut ludi aut dies laetiores fuerunt quam **quom** in singulis versibus populus Romanus maximo clamore et plausu Bruti memoriam **pro-sequebatur**? Cic., Phil., 10, 4, 8.

O **praeclaram** illam eloquentiam tuam, **quom** **es** nudus **contionatus**! Cic., Phil., 2, 34, 86.

puer, incredibili ac divina quadam mente atque virtute, **quom** **maxime** furor **arderet** Antonii quomque eius a Brundisio crudelis et pestifer reditus timeretur . . . firmissimum exercitum ex invicto genere veteranorum militum comparavit patrimoniumque suum effudit. Cic., Phil., 3, 2, 3. (*At a time of such a character as this, Caesar raised an army . . .*)

Quod enim tempus erit unquam **quom** vestrorum in nos beneficiorum memoria ac fama moriatur, qui **illo ipso tempore**, **quom** vi, ferro, metu, minis obsessi **teneremini**, non multo post discesum meum me universi revocavistis? Cic., Post Red., 2, 3. (*At the very time of your greatest danger. Note, too, how exactly quom teneremini and the undoubtedly consecutive quom teneremini correspond.*)

Iucunda mihi eius oratio fuit, **quom** de animo tuo, de sermonibus, quos de me haberes cotidie, mihi **narraret**. Cic., Fam., 3, 1, 2.

Maximum autem fuit **illustre quom** Peloponnesum exercitum **duxisset** adversus Lacedaemonios **haberetque** collegas duos, quorum alter erat Pelopidas, vir fortis ac strenuus. Nep., Epam., 7, 3.

Atque id minus mirum fortasse **tum**, **quom** **esset** incertus exitus et anceps fortuna belli. Cic., Marc., 5, 15.

Itaque in eadem ista Appia via **quom** ornatissimum equitem Romanum P. Clodius M. Papirium **occidisset**, non fuit **illud facinus** puniendum? Cic., Mil., 7, 18.

O **qualis** facies et **quali** digna tabella **Quom** Gaetula ducem **portaret** bella luscum. Juv., 10, 157-8.

Our examples have already shown us what functions the subjunctive *quom*-clause of the character of the situation must necessarily assume in the free play of linguistic expression. Such a clause, when employed in the progress of a narration,

becomes at once the ordinary narrative clause. Further, the character of a situation and the act performed in that situation stand in a necessary relation of cause or hindrance, and that relation cannot fail to be felt by both speaker and hearer. We have, then, in the subjunctive clauses a narrative type and a causal-adversative type, closely connected with a type in which there is an expressed pronominal antecedent. This state of affairs is no more marvellous than was the corresponding state of affairs with the indicative in Plautine Latin or in Greek, or than is the corresponding state of affairs with the indicative in English or German or French or Italian.

The most convincing argument for the soundness of this identification would be to print a large number of examples so arranged as to show, by hardly perceptible gradations, the spread of the qualitative mode in either direction, from its ingress as we saw it just now in the first examples under this category (as in *tum datae sunt quom ego me non belle haberem*), through the already existing causal-adversative *quom*-constructions (indicative) of Early Latin on the one hand, and the already existing narrative *quom*-constructions (indicative) on the other. But, in the lack of space, a brief series, arranged to exhibit stadia not too far apart, must suffice.

In strictness, what we have now to illustrate is not the genesis of the causal-adversative *quom*-clause, or of the narrative *quom*-clause (that has been illustrated before, for the old indicative clauses, in the preceding chapter), but simply the spread of the qualitative subjunctive from one clause to another closely resembling it, and then to another, etc. Yet the same series of examples that illustrates the passage of the mode will also illustrate the conversion of the function of the clause; and our headings will accordingly represent this larger aspect.¹

As both developments proceed from the same starting-point, we place the same example at the head of both.

¹ As has been already said, it is possible that the causal-adversative subjunctive *qui*-clauses may have exercised an influence to bring about a change of mode in the old causal-adversative indicative *quom*-clauses. But the change must in any case have taken place, even if this influence had not existed; and our sketch may therefore leave it out of the account.

THE PASSAGE OF THE FULL TEMPORAL QUALITATIVE *Quom*-CLAUSE INTO THE PURE CAUSAL-ADVERSATIVE *Quom*-CLAUSE (*Type C. of p. 152*).

In *id saeculum* Romuli cecidit aetas, *quom* iam plena Graecia poëtarum et musicorum *esset* minorque fabulis nisi de veteribus rebus *haberetur* fides. Cic., Rep., 2, 10, 18. (*Fell upon a time when*. . . Pure qualitative clause.)

Quom ius amicitiae, societatis, adfinitatis *ageretur*, *quom* officii rationem atque existimationis duci *conveniret*, *eo tempore* tu non modo non ad C. Aquilium aut ad L. Lucilium rettulisti, sed ne ipse quidem te consulisti. Cic., Quinct., 16, 53. (*At a time when* . . ., *at that time*. . . Fully temporal, fully qualitative, and clearly adversative.)

Nos autem *tum*, *quom* maxime consilio nostro subvenire communi saluti *opporteret*, in senatum non vocabamur. Cic., Phil., 5, 1, 1. (Differs from the last only in phraseology.)

Itaque *quom* ceteri consulares *irent*, *redirent*, in sententia mansi. Cic., Phil., 2, 35, 89. (Temporal idea somewhat paler, and the adversative idea correspondingly conspicuous.)

Et tu apud patres conscriptos contra me dicere ausus es, *quom* ab hoc ordine ego conservator *essem*, tu hostis rei publicae *iudicatus*? Cic., Phil., 2, 21, 51. (Temporal idea now very faint, adversative bearing of the situation very strong.¹)

Qua re *quom* crudelissimi Poeni *iudicati sint* in hoste, quid in cive de Dola-bella iudicandum est? Cic., Phil., 11, 4, 9. (Temporal idea has disappeared, leaving the idea of the adversative bearing of the situation in full possession.)

It is an instructive fact that the English *when* will translate *quom* in every one of these examples, and, with its context in each case, will illustrate, in exactly the same way, that genesis of the adversative indicative *quom*-clause of Early Latin which we sketched in the last chapter.

At the extreme development in this direction, we find that, while a causal-adversative function has been gained, nothing remains of the original force of the clause except the idea of *the character of the situation*. Having reference, then, both to genesis and to function, we might name the clause *the expression of the character of the situation, with causal or adversative bear-*

¹ Compare the adversative use of the Italian *allorchè* and the French *alors que* in narration, as in the following:—

Pour excuser leur conduite, ces fuyards ont déclaré qu'on les avait menés à une perte certaine, alors que leur effectif était intact et qu'ils étaient sans blessures; qu'ils avaient manqué de cartouches, alors qu'ils n'avaient pas fait usage, je l'ai constaté moi-même, de celles dont ils étaient encore pourvus; qu'ils avaient été trahis par leurs chefs, etc. Proclamation of General Trochu, Paris, Sept. 20, 1870.

ing, and might often conveniently use a corresponding phrase in translating, as in the following:

Quae **quom** ita **sint**, Catilina, perge quo coepisti, = **such being the situation (this being the case, under these circumstances)**, Catiline, go on with your plan. Cic., Cat., 1, 5, 10.¹

The association of the causal-adversative idea with the subjunctive *quom*-clause having once been formed, the clause will naturally be used with varying shades of force, as follows:

(a) *The adversative idea, though it be reduced to an idea of mere contrast, will take the subjunctive.*

Eorum erat V. milium numerus, **quom** ipsi non amplius octingentos equites **habent**. Caes., B. G., 4, 11. (*Quom* = *while*.)

Haec in Hispania quoque secunda aestate Punici belli gesta, **quom** in Italia paulum intervalli cladibus Romanis sollers cunctatio Fabii **fecisset**. Liv., 22, 23, 1. (*Quom* = *while*. The idea of contrast is here reduced to its lowest terms, that of a *shifting of the scene*.)

De Antonio iam antea tibi scripsi non esse eum a me conventum: venit enim Misenum, **quom** ego **essem** in Pompeiano. Cic., Att., 10, 1, 2 (= *ego autem eram in Pompeiano*).

(b) *The idea of contrast involved in the cumulative idea of the quom-tum construction² leads to the frequent use of the subjunctive ("partitive" clause).*

The reason of the persistence of the indicative construction beside the new mode has been shown on p. 163.

¹ It should be observed that, although the causal-adversative relation often exists between the fact stated in the determinative clause and the fact stated in the main clause, yet an association could never grow up between the indicative and the causal-adversative idea. That idea, as was said above, is founded on the necessary relation between the *character of the situation* and the *main act*. The character of the situation is precisely what is intended to be expressed by the subjunctive; while the determinative indicative is intended to express something quite different. Furthermore, the association of the causal-adversative idea with the subjunctive mode is facilitated by the fact that, at the extreme, the temporal force entirely disappears from the word *quom*; whereas in the determinative clause, the very office of which is to determine a temporal antecedent, the temporal force of *quom* not only always remains unimpaired, but is always the main thing.

² Compare the English *while . . . , yet still more*, and the following *qui*-clause:

Qui iam ante inimico in nos animo **fuisset**, **multo gravius** hoc dolore exarsit. Caes., B. G., 5, 4, 4.

Indicative.

Nam **quom** te semper **amavi dilexique** . . . , tum patris tui pluribus beneficiis vel defensus tristibus temporibus vel ornatus secundis et sum totus vester et esse debeo. Cic., Fam., 15, 7, 1.

Subjunctive.

Nam **quom** te a pueritia tua unice **dilexerim** tuque me in omni genere semper amplissimum esse et **volueris** et **iudicaris**, tum hoc vel tuo facto vel populi Romani de te iudicio multo acrius vehementiusque diligo. Cic., Fam., 15, 9, 1.

(c) *As in the case of the qui-constructions, the causal-adversative idea is a free lance, and may at any time bring about the subjunctive, even where the determinative idea is also strong.*

Poteras autem **eo tempore** auguratum petere, **quom** in Italia C. Curio non **esset**? Cic., Phil., 2, 2, 4.

Tum est condemnatus, **quom esset** iudex quaestionis. Cic., Clu., 33, 89.

Magni honores habiti Cn. Pompeio, **quom esset** adolescens, et quidem iure. Cic., Phil., 5, 16, 43.

THE PASSAGE OF THE FULL TEMPORAL QUALITATIVE *Quom*-CLAUSE INTO THE NARRATIVE *Quom*-CLAUSE. (*Type A of p. 152*).

In **id saeculum** Romuli cecidit aetas, **quom** iam plena Graecia poetarum et musicorum **esset** minorque fabulis nisi de veteribus rebus haberetur **fides**. Cic., Rep., 2, 10, 18. (*Chanced to fall upon a time of the following kind. . . . Pure qualitative clause, without causal or adversative bearing.*)

Nam **quom** hic Sex. Roscius **esset** Ameriae, T. autem iste Roscius Romae; **quom** hic filius adsiduus in praediis **esset quomque** se voluntate patris rei familiari vitaeque rusticae **dedisset**, iste autem frequens Romae **esset**, occiditur ad balneas Pallacinas rediens a cena Sex. Roscius. Cic., Rosc. Am., 7, 18. (The same feeling of the character of the situation is shown in a different construction and phraseology in the following:

Hoc statu rerum in Hispania, P. Scipio in provinciam venit. Liv., 22, 22, 1.)

As it chances, the character of the situation in the preceding examples is not in any relation of cause or hindrance to the fact stated in the main verb. Such an absence of relation is, however, in the nature of things the exception. The examples immediately following illustrate the commoner type of narrative clause, in which a relation exists:

Crotoniatae quondam, **quom florerent** omnibus copiis et in Italia cum primis beati **numerarentur**, templum Iunonis, quod religiosissime colebant, egregiis

picturis locupletare voluerunt; itaque Heracleoten Zeuxin, qui tum longe ceteris excellere pictoribus existimabatur, magno pretio conductum adhibuerunt. Cic., Inv., 2, 1, 1. (**At a time of the following kind**. . . Character of the situation, in a narrative form, and, as it happens, with causal bearing.)

Is, **quom** sententia senatus **inclinaret** ad pacem cum Pyrrho foedusque facendum, non dubitavit dicere illa, quae versibus persecutus est Ennius . . . Cic., Sen., 6, 16.

Quom mulier **fleret** uberius, homo misericors ferre non potuit, caput aperuit, in collum invasit. Cic., Phil., 2, 31, 77.

Hispaniensis legatio consecuta est, **turbulentissimo** rei publicae **tempore**, **quom** adventu L. Sullae maximi exercitus in Italia civium **dissiderent** *de* iudiciis ac legibus; atque **hoc** rei publicae **statu desperato** . . . Cic., Font., 3, 6. (Pure qualitative clause, without causal-adversative bearing. The example differs from the last only in that *eo* is not expressed, and that *tempore* has two adjectives, *turbulentissimo* and *quom* — *dissiderent*. The summing up of the situation in *hoc statu desperato* should be noticed.)

Nunc, ut honores, ut omnes dignitatis gradus, sic huius scientiae splendor deletus est, idque eo indignius, quod **eo tempore** hoc contigit, **quom** is **esset**, qui omnis superiores, quibus honore par esset, scientia facile vicisset. Cic., Off., 2, 19, 65. (*Happened at a time of the following kind* . . . Qualitative clause, expressing the quality of the time at which (i. e. the character of the situation when) the main act took place, and also happening to stand in an adversative relation to that act.)

The same idea of the character of the situation, though now in narrative form, is unmistakable in the following. The phraseology is striking.

Nuper vero **quom** M. Antonius summam spem salutis bonis omnibus **attulisset** gravissimamque adulescens nobilissimus rei publicae partem fortissime **suscepisset**, atque illam beluam, iudicii laqueos declinantem, iam inretitam **teneret**, **qui locus, quod tempus** illud, di immortales, fuit! Cic., Mil., 15, 40. (A passage which precedes this by a few lines instructively expresses the same idea of the character of the situation in paratactic form:

At **quod** erat **tempus**? clarissimus et fortissimus consul, inimicus Clodio [P. Lentulus], ultor sceleris illius, propugnator senatus, defensor vestrae voluntatis, patronus publici consensus, restitutor salutis meae; septem praetores, octo tribuni plebei, illius adversarii, defensores mei; Cn. Pompeius, auctor et dux mei reditus, illius hostis . . .; omnium denique in illum odia civium ardebant desiderio mei . . . Tamen se Milo continuit. Cic., Mil., 15, 39.

Qui **quom** illi breviter constanterque **respondissent**, per quem ad eum quotiensque venissent, **quaesissentque** ab eo, nihilne secum esset de fatis Sibyllinis locutus, tum ille subito scelere demens quanta conscientiae vis esset ostendit. Cic., Cat., 3, 5, 11.

Quom is Casilini eo die mansurum eum **dixisset**, tum demum cognitus est error, et Casinum longe inde alia regione esse. Liv., 22, 13, 9.

Sed **quom** Caesar ita **dixisset**, tum hic bonus augur eo se sacerdotio praeditum esse dixit, ut comitia auspiciis vel impedire vel vitare posset, idque se facturum esse adseveravit. Cic., Phil., 2, 32, 80.

Haec **quom** Crassus **dixisset**, silentium est consecutum. Cic., De Or., 1, 35, 160.

In the last few examples the idea of the *character of the situation*, together with that of the incidental causal or adversative bearing, has been growing fainter, and the narrative clause is now ready, with a single step more, to reach the function of merely showing *how things were* at the time of the main act. Weakening our phrase, "*character of the situation*," to match this weakening of the function of the mechanism, we may call the clause simply the expression of *the situation*. And even this phrase may not be weak enough for an extreme example like the following:

Quae **quom** dixisset, sic rursus exorsus est. Cic., Ac. Pr., 2, 5, 13.

An interesting statement of the force of the subjunctive by a late Roman grammarian now becomes intelligible:

Hoc pacto iungitur finitivis; subjunctivis vero, quom post factum aliquid perfectum significat, velut "quom venisset, declamavi." Significat enim prius venisse eum et **sic** se coepisse declamare; ut apud Ciceronem "quom ille homo audacissimus conscientia convictus reticuisset, patefeci." Nam primum Catilina tacuit et **tunc** Cicero patefecit. Charisius, p. 226 Keil. Similarly, Diomedes, p. 392 Keil.

The whole passage of which this is a part is a clumsy attempt to establish the difference between the two modes with *quom*. But one could hardly imagine a failure which should be more enlightening. The writer felt two things in the subjunctive *quom*-clause: one, that it was the expression of a *situation*; the other, that it was the expression of a *temporal idea*. The recognition of the former aspect of its power led him in the one case to define the clause as meaning, **this being the state of affairs, this being the situation** (*et sic coepisse declamare*). The recognition of the other aspect led him in the other case to define the clause as meaning simply **then** (*et tunc Cicero patefecit*). The fact is, that the subjunctive *quom*-clause combines both these ideas. The mode of the verb expresses the character of the antecedent,—namely, the time of the main act; while the temporal particle *quom* expresses the idea of succession or coincidence in time. If we put the two attempts of the grammarian together, we shall have a very just exhibit of the power of the subjunctive narrative *quom*-clause in the convenient for-

mula *sic* + *tunc*. And if a further explanation of the force of the *sic* were desired, it might be given in the late-Latin phrase "*his ita se habentibus*."

If we come now to adopt a name for the ordinary narrative clause in its fullest force, that name will be, *introductory clause of the character of the situation*; and for the lightest type, in which the idea of character has grown faint, the curtailed name INTRODUCTORY CLAUSE OF THE SITUATION would express the actual function, and at the same time connect the construction with the fuller one out of which it has grown.

It will be seen that, though our view of the ground of the mode in these clauses differs from Roby's,¹ we have reached the same feeling that he has in regard to the actual function of the clause. His formula "attendant circumstances" admirably expresses what is here called the "situation;" and I cannot be sure that it will not be thought to be the better formula. The phrase "character of the situation" seems, however, to have a certain advantage, in that it connects the construction with the primary function of the mode, in *qui*-clauses and *quom*-clauses alike, — namely, to characterize the antecedent. And from the phrase "character of the situation" we are naturally brought to the weakened phrase "situation" for the same construction in its lighter form.

It is evident that as the originally full and clear qualitative idea in the *quom*-clause is dulled under the constant operation of unthinking use and unconscious deflection, the clause approaches more and more toward a purely participial power. A subordinated statement of what had just happened or was just happening, made in order to prepare the hearer for the main act by showing him how things were when it took place,

¹ "The subjunctive with *cum* is in some of its uses very peculiar, but appears to be referable, like the preceding class, to the fact or event being presented to the mind, not as a mere definition of the time of the principal action, but as a cause or a possible cause of its occurrence, at least in the form in which it actually occurred." Roby's Latin Grammar, § 1710. My own view, on the contrary, is that the causal idea attaching to *quom* is a development from the temporal idea, in Latin as in other languages.

is really in function a participle, no matter under what grammatical mechanism it be put before us. If we bear in mind the lack of a perfect active participle in Latin,¹ the lack of a present passive, and the considerable stylistic restrictions upon the use of the present active, we can well see how convenient a form of speech was at hand to the Romans, as soon as the lighter type of the narrative *quom*-clause had been developed; and we may be quite prepared to find ourselves forced by our examples frankly to define the subjunctive *quom*-clause as an ever-possible participle; after which we can easily understand how naturally the convenient idiom of the *ablative absolute of circumstances* should have to share its functions with the *quom*-clause of *situation*.

The following tables will exhibit the *quom*-clause as participle,² with a number of parallels:

<i>The Participle.</i>	<i>The Quom-Clause as Participle.</i>
Saepe illam audivi furtiva voce lo- quentem Solam cum ancillis haec sua flagitia. Catull., 67, 41-2.	L. Flaccum, flaminem Martialem, au- divi, quom diceret Caeciliam Metelli . . . exisse in quoddam sacellum. . . Cic., Div., 1, 46, 104. Saepe ex socero meo audivi, quom is diceret socerum suum Laelium sem- per fere cum Scipione solitum rusticari. Cic., De Or., 2, 6, 22. Similarly 2, 37,

¹ "The history of Roman literature begins with translation, and there is no doubt that many of our most familiar Latin constructions owe, if not their origin, at least their frequency, to the necessities of a perpetual wrestle with the more flexible idiom. Do we not detect even the best translations from the French, from the German, into English by a similar recurrence of technical devices? Of course, the standing puzzle was the aorist active participle, for which the Latin has no equivalent, the nearest being the deponent perfect participle, of which, by the way, the Romans made all the use they could. The first chapter that we come to will answer, Matt. ii. In this chapter the aorist active (or deponent) participle is roughly rendered by the Latin present participle in no less than 14 instances, by *cum* with subjunctive in 2, by the ablative absolute passive in 3, by the finite verb in 2, while a welcome deponent enables the Latin to cope with the Greek in one instance, and τελευτήσαντος Ἡρώδου becomes *defuncto Herode*." Professor Gildersleeve, On the Stylistic Effect of the Greek Participle, "American Journal of Philology," vol. ix. No. 2.

² If the range of the *quom*-clause, and, in particular, the lightness of its touch at the extreme of its development, seem surprising, one need only contemplate the great range which the participle itself has gained.

C. Duellium . . . **redeuntem** a cena
senem saepe **videbam** puer. Cic., Sen.,
13, 44.

Ad genua accidit
Lacrumans misera.
Ter, Hec., 378-9.

155; 2, 90, 365; Fin., 5, 19, 54; Fam., 3, 7, 4; and elsewhere. Also (with *vidistis*) Catull., 59, 6.

Saepe enim soleo **audire** Roscium, **quom** ita **dicat**, se adhuc reperire discipulum, quem quidem probaret, potuisse neminem. Cic., De Or., 1, 28, 129.

Omnes mihi Epicuri sententiae satis notae sunt, atque eos, quos nominavi, cum Attico nostro frequenter **audivi**, **quom miraretur** ille quidem utrumque, Phaedrum autem etiam amaret, cotidieque inter nos ea, quae audiebamus, conferebamus. Cic., Fam., 1, 5, 16.¹

Qui C. Caesarem, mitem hominem et a caede abhorrentem, saepe **increpuit**, saepe **accusavit**, **quom adfirmaret** illum numquam, dum haec natio viveret, sine cura futurum. Cic., Sest., 63, 132. (*Quom adfirmaret* = *adfirmans*.)

Declarant huius ambusti tribuni plebis illae intermortuae contiones, quibus cotidie meam potentiam invidiose **criminabatur**, **quom diceret** senatum non quod sentiret, sed quod ego vellem discernere. Cic., Mil., 5, 12.¹

Luceius mirificas tibi apud me **gratias egit**, **quom diceret** omnia te cumulatissime et liberalissime procuratoribus suis pollicitum esse. Cic., Fam., 13, 42, 1.¹

Subito **adsedit**, **quom** sibi venenis ereptam memoriam **diceret**. Cic., Or., 37, 129. (Sat down suddenly, *saying* . . .)

Equidem quom peterem magistratum, **solebam** in prensando **dimittere** a me Scaevolam, **quom** ita ei **dicerem**, me velle esse ineptum. Cic., De Or., 1, 24, 112.

Meditrinalia dies dictus a medendo, quod Flaccus flamen Martialis dicebat hoc die solitum vinum [novum] et vetus libari et degustari medicamenti causa; quod **facere solent** etiam nunc multi, **quom dicant**: novum vetus vinum bibo. Varro, L. L., 6, 21 (203 Sp.). (*Quom dicant* = *dicentes*. The tense is rare.)

¹ To be added to Draeger's collection in § 498, 1, itself already numbering twelve examples. Draeger unnecessarily limits to clauses following *audire* and *videre*.

Sed is Piso in provincia ab equitibus Hispanis, quos in exercitu ductabat, **iter faciens occisus est**. Sall., Cat., 19, 3.

Pro castris **fortissime pugnans occiditur**. Caes., B. G., 5, 37, 5.

. . . Platonis, qui uno et octogesimo anno **scribens est mortuus**. Cic., Sen., 5, 13. (. . . who died, *pen in hand*, in his eighty-first year.)

Quaerenti mihi multumque et diu **cogitanti** quam re possem prodesse quam plurimis . . . , nulla maior occurrebat quam si optimarum artium vias traderem meis civibus. Cic., Div., 2, 1, 1.

Kal. Iuniis **eunti** mihi Antium et gladiatores M. Metelli cupide **relinquenti** venit obviam tuus puer: is mihi litteras abs te et commentarium consulatus mei Graece scriptum reddidit. Cic., Att., 2, 1, 1. (*Going to Antium . . . , I met your servant, who brought me letters from you.*)

Hanc epistolam dictavi **sedens** in raeda. Cic., Att., 5, 17, 1. (I dictate this letter *in my carriage*.)

In ipsa Scipionis Africani villa **iacens** haec tibi scribo adoratis manibus eius et arca, quam sepulcrum esse tanti viri suspicor. Sen., Ep. Mor., 13, 1, 1. (Compare with *quom essem otiosus* above.)

Hic **quom** ex Aegypto **revertentur**, donatus a rege Nectanabide ducentis viginti talentis . . . venissetque in partum qui Menelai vocatur . . . , in morbum implicitus **decessit**. Nep., Ages., 8, 6.

In secundo proelio **cecidit** Critias, dux tyrannorum, **quom** quidem adversus Thrasybulum **fortissime pugnaret**. Nep., Thras., 7, 2. (. . . fell, *fighting bravely*, it must be confessed, against Thrasybulus.)

. . . L. Octavius Reatinus, qui, **quom** multas iam causas **diceret**, adolescens **est mortuus**. Cic., Brut., 68, 241. (. . . died *in the midst of his activity*, and in the prime of life.)

Sed mihi, **quom** de senectute **vellem** aliquid scribere, tu occurrebas dignus eo munere, quo uterque nostrum communiter uteretur. Cic., Sen., 1, 1, 2.

Quom essem otiosus in Tusculano, propterea quod discipulos obviam miseram, ut eadem me quam maxime conciliarent familiari suo, accepi tuas litteras plenissimas suavitatis. Cic., Fam., 9, 18, 1. (*Taking my ease* in my Tusculan villa, I received letters from you.)

A. d. III. Kal. Maias **quom essem** in Cumano, accepi tuas litteras. Cic., Fam., 4, 2, 1. (Your letters found me *established in my villa at Cumae*.)

Tarso Nonis Octobribus Amanum versus profecti sumus; haec scripsi postridie eius diei, **quom** castra **haberem** in agro Mopsuestiae. Cic., Fam., 3, 8, 10. (I write this letter one day later, *in camp*.¹)

¹ This is the passage which was alluded to in Part I., p. 44, as wrongly classed by Lübbert with such examples as *fuit tempus quom rura colerent homines*, — apparently with the idea that *quom* had *eius diei* for its antecedent.

Τὴν μακαρίαν ἄγοντες καὶ ἅμα τελευταίαν ἡμέραν τοῦ βίου ἐγράφομεν ὑμῖν ταυτί. Epicurus ap. Diog. Laert., 10, 22.

Fecerunt id servi Milonis . . . nec imperante nec sciente nec praesente domino. Cic., Mil., 10, 29.

Arma in templo Castoris, o proditor templorum omnium, **vidente te** constituebantur ab eo latrone. . . . Cic., Pis., 5, 11.

Lysander **interrogatus**, cur magnam barbam libenter haberet, respondit: ut solum tangendo eam virum me esse meminerm. Caecil. Balb., Nug. Phil., p. 15 Wölfflin.

Egressi superant fossas. Verg., Aen., 9, 314. (Cf. the following:

Opening the "New York Tribune" yesterday morning, I found your verses on Agassiz, enjoyed them, cut them out, and read them at Stafford House. Letter of Charles Sumner, S. Longfellow's Life of Longfellow, 2, 301.)

Quom ageremus, inquit, vitae beatum et eundem supremum diem, scribamus haec. Cic., Fin., 2, 30, 98.

Vidi enim, vidi hunc ipsum Q. Hortensium, lumen et ornamentum rei publicae, paene interfici servorum manu, **quom mihi adesset**. Cic., Mil., 14, 37.

Moritur in Gallia Quinctius, **quom adesset** Naevius. Cic., Quinct., 4, 14.

[Democrates] **quom interrogaretur**, quid inter homines pecoraque distaret, sapienter sentire, respondit. Caecil. Balb., Nug. Phil., p. 21 Wölfflin.

Illi igitur duodecim, quorum dux erat Pelopidas, **quom** Athenis interdum **exissent**, ut vespascente caelo Thebas posset pervenire, cum canibus venaticis exierunt, retia ferentes. Nep., Pelop., 2, 5. (*Quom exissent* = *profecti*.)

Where two modifiers are desired, the participle and its equivalent the *quom*-clause are easily combined, as in the following:

Hanc epistolam dictavi **sedens** in raeda, **cum** in castra **proficiscerer**, a quibus aberam bidui. Cic., Att., 5, 17, 1. (I dictate this letter *sitting in my carriage, on my way to camp*.)

Ex Asia **rediens**, **cum** ab Aegina Megaram versus **navigarem**, coepi regiones circumcirca prospicere. Serv. ap. Cic., Fam., 4, 5, 4. (*Returning from Asia, and sailing from Aegina toward Megara, I began, etc.*)

Servus per circum, **quom** virgis **caederetur**, furcam **ferens** ductus est. Cic., Div., 1, 26, 55.

Tum **adlatis pugionibus**, **quom** utrimque **pertemptasset**, alterum capiti subdidit. Tac., Hist., 2, 49.

Quotiens illum lux noctu aliquid describere **ingressum**, quotiens nox oppressit **quom** mane **coepisset**. Cic., Sen., 14, 49.

After these examples, it will be easy, without the accompanying participle, to feel the participial function in the *quom*-clauses following. The first of them is, in fact, an exact parallel for *quom coepisset* just above:

Duo de quadraginta annos tyrannus Syracusanorum fuit Dionysius, **quom** quinque et viginti natus annos dominatum **occupavisset**. Cic., Tusc., 5, 20, 57. (= *quinto et vicesimo aetatis anno dominatum adeptus*.)

Quod quom ab illo diligenter esset actum, ego in castra a. d. vii. k. Sept. veni, **quom** interea superioribus diebus ex senatus consulto et evocatorum firmam manum . . . , **comparavissem**. Cic., Fam., 15, 4, 3. (. . . having meanwhile collected. . .)

Deinde est profectus non tum primum, sed **quom** in eisdem locis aliquanto ante eadem de causa aliquot annos **fuiisset**. Cic., Sull., 20, 56.

Ego **quom** Athenis decem ipsos dies **fuissem** multumque mecum Gallus noster Caninius, proficiscebar inde pridie Nonas Quinctilis, cum hoc ad te litterarum dedi. Cic., Fam., 2, 8, 3.

Atque haec ille egit septemdecim annis post alterum consulatum, **quom** inter duos consulatus anni decem **interfuissent** censorque ante superiorem **fuiisset**. Cic., Sen., 6, 16.

Vidi etiam senem Livium, qui, **quom** sex annis ante quam ego natus sum fabulam **docuisset** Centone Tuditanoque consulibus, usque ad adulescentiam meam processit aetate. Cic., Sen., 14, 50.

Ergo in hac vita M'. Curius, **quom** de Samnitibus, de Sabinis, de Pyrrho **triumphavisset**, consumpsit extremum tempus aetatis. Cic., Sen., 16, 55.

Quid vero ille singularis vir ac paene divinus de me senserit sciunt qui eum de Pharsalia fuga Paphum persecuti sunt: numquam ab eo mentio de me nisi honorifica, nisi plena amicissimi desiderii, **quom** me vidisse plus **fateretur**, se speravisse meliora. Cic., Phil., 2, 15, 39. (*Quom fateretur* is equivalent to a *fatente*, agreeing with *eo*.)

I cite next a difficult case:

Equi fortis et victoris senectuti comparat suam; quem quidem probe meminisse potestis: anno enim undevicesimo post eius mortem hi consules, T. Flamininus et M'. Acilius, facti sunt; ille autem Caepione et Philippo iterum consulibus mortuus est, **quom** ego quinque et sexaginta annos natus legem Voconiam magna voce et bonis lateribus **suavissem**. Annos septuaginta natus — tot enim vixit Ennius — ita ferebat duo quae maxima putantur onera, paupertatem et senectutem, ut eis paene delectari videretur. Cic., Sen., 5, 14. (The clause is not determinative, — the time being already determined in *Caepione et Philippo iterum consulibus*. It simply gives, in the gossip current of the essay, a *side circumstance* of interest to the talker. Such clauses constitute the extreme point of development of the full circumstantial clause.)

It is well, in dealing with the *quom*-clause at this extreme, to remind ourselves that a logical analysis justifies the actual drift of the Roman mind, by showing that there is no definable third term between the qualitative idea and the determinative idea. When, then, the phraseology *is qui*, etc., developed a qualitative use in addition to the old determinative use, all the *quom*-clauses of the sort which we are now considering must necessarily fall into the one or the other mode (the qualitative or the determinative), according to its closer approach to the one or the other idea. The determinative idea is peculiarly sharp and clear (as if one were to say, "the time of which I am thinking is the

one at which so-and-so happened"). The qualitative idea is capable of equal sharpness and clearness. But, unlike the determinative idea, it is also capable of *gradations*; and in the existence of these gradations is the certainty of development into fainter and fainter shades. If, then, we are dealing with a case in which we find the subjunctive, but doubt whether we detect the presence of any qualitative idea whatever, we may assist ourselves in deciding to which idea the construction historically goes back, by finding some undoubted determinative example of similar phraseology, and comparing the two, as, e. g., in the pairs that follow:

The determinative clause.

Quo die haec **scripsi**, Drusus erat de praevaricatione a tribunis aerariis absolutus . . . Ego *eodem die* post meridiem Vatinius eram defensurus. Cic., Q. Fr., 2, 16. (*On the day on which I write* Drusus has been acquitted.)

Qui status rerum fuerit **tum, quom** has litteras **dedi**, scire poteris ex C. Titio Strabone. Cic., Fam., 12, 6, 1. (What the condition of affairs is *at the time at which I write*. . . .)

Quom haec **scribebam**, censorem iam te esse sperabam. Cic., Fam., 3, 13, 2. (*By the time at which I write*, I hope that you are censor.)

A. d. vi. Idus Maias **quom** has **dabam** litteras, ex Pompeiano proficiscebar. Cic., Att., 5, 2, 1.

Equidem **quom** haec **scribebam**, aliquid iam actum putabam. Cic., Fam., 6, 4, 1. (*By the time at which I write*, I fancy that something has already been accomplished.)

The clause of situation at its extreme of development.

Quom hanc iam epistolam **conplicarem**, tabellarii a vobis venerunt a. d. xi. Kal. vicesimo die. Cic., Q. Fr., 3, 1, 5, 12. (*Not at the time at which I am folding, but as I fold this letter*. . . . "I was folding up this letter. In this situation of affairs, in came — letters from you.")

Ante lucem **quom scriberem** contra Epicureos, de eodem oleo et opera exaravi nescio quid ad te et ante lucem dedi; deinde **quom** somno repetito simul cum sole **experrectus essem**, datur mihi epistola a sororis tuae filio. Cic., Att., 13, 38, 1.

Ibi **quom ventum expectarem** — erat enim villa Valerii nostri, ut familiariter essem et libenter — Regini quidam, illustres homines, eo venerunt. Cic., Att., 16, 7, 1. (*Waiting for a wind*, I had a call from some gentlemen from Rhegium, who landed just then.)

Quom haec **scribebam**, res existimabatur in extremum adducta discrimen; tristes enim de Bruto nostro litterae nuntiique adferebantur. Cic., Brut., 2, 11, 1. (*At the date of writing. . .*)

Intellexi ex tua oratione, **quom** tecum Ephesi **locutus sum**, te ipsius M. Anneii causa omnia velle. Cic., Fam., 13, 57, 2. (*I understand from what you said at the time when we talked at Ephesus. . .*)

Haec non noram **tum** cum Democrito tuo **quom locutus sum**. Cic., Att., 6, 1, 13. (*At the time when I talked with Democritus, I was not aware of this.*)

Decedenti mihi et iam imperio annuo **terminato** ante d. III. Nonas Sext., **quom** ad Sidam navi **accederem** et mecum Q. Servilius **esset**, litterae a meis sunt redditae. Cic., Fam., 3, 12, 4. (The example is interesting as exhibiting participle, ablative absolute, and *quom*-clause in combination.)

Brundisii **quom loquerer** cum Phania liberto tuo, veni in eum sermonem, ut dicerem. . . . Cic., Fam., 3, 5, 3. (*Talking with Phanius at Brundisium, I happened to make a remark that. . .*)

Nam **quom** de hoc ipso Trebatio cum Balbo nostro **loquerer** accuratius domi meae, litterae mihi dantur a te. Cic., Fam., 7, 5, 2. (*As I was talking with Balbus. . . , your letter was put into my hands.*)

THE SEQUENT CLAUSE OF SITUATION (ADDED PICTURE).

Our citations have already included many passages in which the clause of situation, instead of introducing the main clause, follows it. The usage, which is generally overlooked by the grammars,¹ is an important one, and deserves a distinct name and a distinct collection of examples.

The first two sentences below were quoted against Hoffmann's view in Part I. of this study, p. 38.

Ingressus urbem est quo comitatu, vel potius agmine! **quom** dextra sinistra, gemente populo Romano, **minaretur** dominis, **notaret** domos, divisurum se urbem palam suis **polliceretur**. Cic., Phil., 13, 9, 19. (With what a train, or rather what a troop! did he enter Rome, *threatening* householders right and left, *branding* houses, openly *promising* his creatures plunder, — and all this amid the groans of the Roman people.)

Misere discedere quaerens,
Ire modo ocius, interdum consistere, in aurem
Dicere nescio quid puero, **quom** sudor ad imos
Manaret talos.

Hor., Sat., 1, 9, 8-11.

¹ Roby's grammar is an exception to this statement (see § 1722). Yet I should put his first example under a different class.

Statuitur Lollius in illo tempestivo gladiatorum convivio . . . statuitur, ut dico, eques Romanus, annos prope xc natus, in Apronii convivio, **quom** interea Apronius caput atque os suum unguento **confricaret**. Cic., Verr., 3, 25, 62.

Deinde abstractum defodit in ludo et vivum conbussit; **quom** quidem pransus, nudis pedibus, tunica soluta, manibus ad tergum reiectis, **inambulet** et illi misero quiritanti "c. R. natus sum" **responderet**: "abi nunc, populi fidem implora." Asin. Poll., ap. Cic., Fam., 10, 32, 3.

Caesar . . . parva parte noctis itinere intermisso mane Dyrrachium venit, **quom** primum agmen Pompei procul **cerneretur**, atque ibi castra posuit. Caes., B. C., 3, 41, 5. (Caesar . . . reached Dyrrachium in the morning, — *the advance guard of Pompey's army being in sight in the distance*, — and there encamped.)

Consumitur vigiliis reliqua pars noctis, **quom** sua quisque miles **circumspiceret**, quid secum portare posset, quid ex instrumento hibernorum relinquere cogeretur. Caes., B. G., 5, 31, 5.

Saepe vagus Liber Parnasi vertice summo,
Thyadas effusis evantis crinibus egit,
Quom Delphi tota certatim ex urbe ruentes
Acciperent laeti divom fumantibus aris.

Catull., 64, 387-393. (*Quom* =, not *as often as*, but *while*. The clause gives *accompanying circumstances* for *egit*.)

Riemann (La Langue et la Grammaire de Tite Live, p. 300, and Syntaxe Latine, p. 322) cites the next following example as unusual, classing it under the category of *cum inversum*. It seems to me to be best explained under the present category:

Iam primi conseruerant manus, **quom** alii catervatim **currerent**, alii nondum e castris **exissent**. Liv., 23, 27, 5.

Iam quam antiquum, quam consulare, quod triduum totum senatus sub exemplo tui sedit, **quom** interea nihil praeter consulem **ageres**! Plin., Pan., 76.

Nam lora tenebat,
Ipse lacernatae **quom** se **iactaret** amicae (. . . *showing himself off*).
Iuv., 1, 61-2.

Dummodo non pereat totidem olfecisse lucernas,
Quot stabant pueri, **quom** totus decolor **esset**
Flaccus et **haereret** nigro fuligo Maroni.
Iuv., 7, 225-7.

Ridebat curas, nec non et gaudia vulgi,
Interdum et lacrimas, **quom** fortunae ipse minaci
Mandaret laqueum mediumque ostenderet unguem.
Iuv., 10, 51-3.

FORMULATION OF THE MEANINGS OF THE INDICATIVE AND THE SUBJUNCTIVE CLAUSES.

We are now in a position to formulate the differences between the commonest form of the indicative *quom*-clause and the commonest forms of the subjunctive *quom*-clause.

The indicative is used in the *quom*-clause when the speaker desires primarily to indicate to the hearer *what* time, *what* occasion, he has in mind. The most frequent use of the clause is, therefore, to carry the hearer's thought away to a time apart from that of the point which has been reached in the narrative, the discussion, etc., — to make an excursion with him into the distance, to fix his mind upon the time desired by citing some event which is presumably known to him, as in the following:

O utinam **tunc quom** Lacedaemona classe **petebat**
Obrutus insanis esset adulter aquis.

Ov., Her., I, 516.

Occasionally facts just made known to the hearer or reader in the narrative are employed as a known temporal point with which to connect other events, occurring in a different field, as in the following:

Hannibal **tum** forte, **quom** haec **gerebantur**, apud Syphacem erat. Liv.
29, 31, 1.

The indicative *quom*-clause, then, is framed to meet a possible question, "At what time was it that this act of which you are speaking took place?" And the test by which we might try a given example would be to see whether it could be translated by the formula, "*at the time at which.*"¹ Briefly, then, we may say that the indicative clause expresses *the date*.

The office of the subjunctive *quom*-clause is to tell in what kind of a situation, in what condition of affairs, the main act took place. The clause is framed to meet a possible question, "How were things at the time of the act of which you are

¹ The formula "*at the time when*" is not quite severe enough; for though always applicable to the determinative clause, it may occasionally correspond to the *incidentally determinative* qualitative clause.

The formula "*at a time when,*" on the other hand, can be applied only to the qualitative clause.

speaking?" Briefly, then, the subjunctive clause expresses *the situation*.

The clause of situation possesses two functions, — namely, the incidentally determinative, and the narrative; and the difference between them is important, on account of the different relations in which they stand to the indicative clause.

The incidentally determinative clause of situation, like the (determinative) indicative clause of date, carries the mind of the hearer or reader away to a distance from the place where it has been. The difference between the two modes in this case is, that the indicative insists upon the determinative value of the statement, leaving the qualitative to take care of itself; while the subjunctive insists upon the qualitative value of the statement, leaving the determinative to take care of itself. Yet, as the determinative idea *is* incidentally conveyed, we may briefly say that the office of this clause is to express *the situation and the date together*, — the *sic + tum* of Diomedes and Charisius.

The commoner function of the qualitative clause, however, — namely, the narrative, — is to give the situation from time to time in the progress of a story. It regularly advances the narrative a step, by bringing in a new event or circumstance, or, at the least, by summarizing something that has just occurred, as in the formula *quae quom dixisset*. And, conversely, if one is writing Latin, it may be laid down as a sure principle that a *quom*-clause that carries forward the story by stating a new incident must be put in the subjunctive.¹ This is the very sign-manual of the subjunctive *quom*-clause; and I must therefore be permitted to dwell upon it by stating it in another way: If a

¹ I emphasize this matter the more, because I have learned in various conversations with Latinists of recognized position that there is a remarkable difference of opinion in regard to specific examples, which must be due to a difference of opinion in regard to the actual function of the narrative *quom*-clause. I have shown my examples from Caes., B. C., 3, 87, 7 (cited on p. 204), and from Verg., Aen., 5, 42, and 7, 148 (p. 206), to a number of accomplished Latinists. All agreed that the first case was abnormal; while with regard to the second and third examples there were three opinions, as follows: (1) that only the subjunctive could be employed, by normal usage; (2) that only the indicative could be employed; (3) that either mode might be employed. A similar difference of opinion exists between Hoffmann and Lübbert in regard to a number of passages in Plautus and Terence. (See Hoffmann, pp. 176 *seq.*)

quom-clause is interchangeable with an *ubi*- or *ut*-clause, then the *quom*-clause must be in the subjunctive.¹ (The indicative *quom*-clause, on the contrary, is not interchangeable with the *ubi*- *ut*-clause, nor with anything else, except a clause introduced by *quo tempore*.) Further, the narrative clause is not, like the indicative clause, translatable by the formula "at the time at which;" for such a question makes too much of the temporal idea. To put the distinction in Latin, the narrative clause answers the question *quo statu rerum?* and not, like the indicative clause, the question *quando?*¹

On the other hand, the presence or absence of a causal idea in connection with a narrative clause in no way concerns the construction. That construction is historically due to the idea of characterization. Instead, therefore, of the mode of the narrative clause being a derivative from the mode of the causal clause, the case is very nearly the exact opposite. And no formula more incorrect in science or more misleading in practice could be framed than the too common one that the indicative is the mode for a "purely temporal" clause, while the subjunctive is used where an idea of cause is in some way involved.

Hoffmann, pp. 114-126, gives a large number of examples in which the mode seems at first sight to vary capriciously, and explains them upon his theory of absolute and relative time. I have already explained a number of such cases; but the statement just given of the uses of the two modes with *quom* will best be emphasized if I add a few typical pairs. The first three pairs, than which no better could be chosen, are taken from Hoffmann.

¹ The nature of the indicative clauses with *postquam*, *ubi*, *ut*, and *simul atque* has already been pointed out. They are interchangeable with the narrative *quom*-clauses, but with certain differences of effect. When their verb is in the imperfect or pluperfect (the tenses of *the state of affairs*), they approach very closely in meaning to the narrative *quom*-clause, falling short in that the *mode* of the verb does not contribute to express the character of the situation. When their verb is in the perfect or the historical present, they are more remote from the narrative *quom*-clauses, in that they wholly renounce the expression of the state of affairs, and deal with events merely as successive points in a series, being, so far as their tenses go, strictly paratactical.

Emphasis upon the determinative value of the statement,—answering a possible question, “What time are you speaking about?”

Emphasis upon the qualitative value of the statement,—answering a possible question, “What kind of a time, what kind of a situation, was it?”

The clause of date.

Tum, **quom** erant Catones, Philii, Laelii, quorum sapientiam temperantiamque in publicis privatisque, forensibus domesticisque rebus perspexeratis, tamen huiusce modi res commissa nemini est, ut . . . (Is the continuation of the passage opposite from Cic., Leg. Agr., 2, 24, 64?)

Itaque **tum quom** vigilando necabatur, erat in meliore causa quam si domi senex captivus, periurus consularis remansisset. Cic., Off., 3, 27, 100. (Even at the very time when he was dying of enforced sleeplessness, he was better off, etc.)

An **tum** eras consul, **quom** in Palatio mea domus ardebat, non casu aliquo, sed ignibus iniectis instigante te? ecquod in hac urbe maius umquam incendium fuit cui non consul subvenerit? Cic., Pis., 11, 26.

Non aevo exsacto vitai es traditus morti Sed **quom** te decuit florere aetate iuventa Intereisti et liquisti in maeroribus matrem.

C. I. L., 1202.

(At the very time at which. With the opposite feeling the subjunctive would be entirely appropriate here.)

Potuitne civi egregio et viro fortissimo, P. Sestio, conlega suo, vulnerato? potuitne Q. Fabricio, viro optimo, cum de reditu meo legem ferret, pulso, crudelissima in foro caede facta? potuitne L. Caecilii, iustissimi fortissimique practoris, oppugnata domo? potuitne **illo die, quom est lata** lex de me? (Continuation opposite.)

The clause of situation involving date.

Unum hoc certe videor mihi verissime posse dicere: **tum, quom haberet** haec res publica Luscinos, Calatinos, Acidinos, homines non solum honoribus populi rebusque gestis, verum etiam patientia paupertatis ornatos, et . . . (Continuation opposite.)

Tormentis quoque **quom laceraretur**, eo fuit habitu oris, ut superante laetitia dolores ridentis speciem praebuerit. Liv., 21, 2. (Even in this situation,—at a time like this. Compare the expression of the situation in the following:

Nero in suprema ira (*in his last agony*) duos calices crystallinos fregit. Plin., N. H., 37, 2, 10, 29.)

Illius L. Metelli, pontificis maximi, qui, **quom** templum illud arderet, in medios se iniecit ignis et eripuit flamma Palladium illud, quod quasi pignus nostrae salutis atque imperii custodiis Vestae continetur. Cic., Scaur., 23, 47.

Adducitur a Veneriis atque adeo attrahitur Lollius, commodum **quom** Apro-nius e palaestra redisset et in triclinio, quod in foro Aetnae straverat, **recubisset**. Cic., Var., 3, 25, 62. (Just as things were in the following situation . . .)

quom totius Italiae concursus, quem mea salus concitarat, facti illius gloriam libens agnovisset, ut, etiam si id Milo fecisset, cuncta civitas eam laudem pro sua vindicaret? Cic., Mil., 14, 38. (The speaker first tells his audience, through the determinative clause opposite, *what day* he means. Then, without change of antecedent, he adds a subjunctive clause, displaying the *character* of that day.)

Tempore quo primum vestis mihi tradita pura **est**,
(Continuation opposite.)

Iucundum **quom** aetas florida verageret,
Multa satis lusi.

Catull., 68, 15-17.

(Catullus first fixes his reader's thought upon a certain time by means of the determinative clause opposite, then adds to that time a complex adjective *iucundum quom aetas florida verageret*.)

The clause of date.

Num me fefellit, Catilina, non modo res tanta, tam atrox tamque incredibilis, verum, id quod multo magis est admirandum, dies? Dixi ego idem in senatu caedem te optimatum contulisse in ante diem v Kalendas Novembris, tum **quom** multi principes civitatis Roma non tam sui conservandi quam tuorum consiliorum reprimendorum causa **profugerunt**. Cic., Cat., 1, 3, 7.

The narrative clause of situation, relating new incidents, etc.

Helvetii omnium rerum inopia adducti legatos de deditione ad eum miserunt. Qui **quom** eum in itinere **convenissent** seque ad pedes **proiecissent** suppliciterque locuti flentes pacem **petissent**, atque eos in eo loco, quo tum essent, suum adventum exspectare **ius-sisset**, paruerunt. Eo postquam Caesar pervenit, obsides, arma, servos, qui ad eos perfugissent, poposcit. Caes., B. G., 1, 27.

A purely rhetorical use of the determinative clause appears in the example to the left below. I add a *qui*-clause of the same nature, which we have seen before:

Eo tempore Polla tua misit, ut ad te si quid vellem darem litterarum, **quom** quid scriberem non **habebam**; omnia enim erant suspensa propter expectationem legatorum, qui quid egissent, nihildum nuntiabatur. Cic., Fam., 11, 8, 1.

Ista enim sententia, inquit, **ea** est, **quae** neque amicos **parat** nec inimicos **tollit**. Livy, 9, 3, 12.

Accepit enim agrum **temporibus eis, quom iacerent** pretia praediorum. Cic., Rosc. Am., 12, 33.

Brundisio quae tibi epistolae redditae sunt sine mea, **tum** videlicet datae sunt, **quom** ego me non belle **haberem**. Cic., Att., 5, 11, 7.

Ea est Romana gens, **quae** victa quiescere **possit**. Livy, following the passage opposite.

The first sentence to the left expresses the idea, "Polla sent word to me *at the very time when* I had nothing in the world to write;" just as the sentence below expresses the idea, "Your view is the very one which neither makes friends nor disposes of enemies." In both cases the use of the indicative idea in place of the ordinary idea of character is a trick of expression.

I have cited the first sentence with the more interest because I am aware that a careless criticism might use it against the doctrine of this paper, and in favor of a view that the indicative *quom*-clause expresses the character of the time. Such a view cannot be maintained. When an indicative and a subjunctive example are placed side by side, as above, no one can deny that the subjunctive example expresses the character of the antecedent, and no one can hold that the indicative example does the same thing without maintaining that the indicative and the subjunctive in relative clauses are identical in meaning. We are driven back, then, either upon the ordinary meaning of the indicative, or upon some rhetorical use of that meaning.

SUMMARY OF FORMULÆ FOR THE VARIOUS SUBJUNCTIVE *Quom*-CLAUSES.

Our examination has covered all the varieties of function which the temporal characterizing clause gained in Latin, and it will be helpful if we can find some common formula of description which shall cover them all. Our formulæ for the individual varieties have been as follows:

For the original type (B), "*clause of the character of the situation after a pronominal antecedent, with or without causal-adversative bearing.*"

For the narrative type (A), "*introductory or sequent clause of the character of the situation (or, in its lightest form, introductory or sequent clause of the situation), with or without causal-adversative bearing.*"

For the pure (non-temporal) causal-adversative type (C), "*clause of the character of the situation, with necessary causal-adversative bearing.*"

The one idea which is common to all these functions is that of the *situation*, the *condition of affairs at the time when the main act took place*. Another idea, that of the causal or adversative relation, may or may not be involved. Excluding, then, the points of difference, we may adopt, as an expression of what is

common to all these uses, the formula **clause of the situation, with or without causal or adversative bearing.**

We have now completed our study of the special developments of the *quom*-clause in which it is unaccompanied by the *qui*-clause. In so doing, we have again passed by the crisis of the investigation. Once more, then, as in the preceding chapter, I desire to point out where that crisis was reached, and to meet the issue explicitly.

Substantially, the settlement of the more difficult part of our subject turns upon the question whether the undoubtedly existing qualitative *quom*-clause is too remote in its nature from the narrative *quom*-clause in any one of its forms to admit of a derivation of the latter from the former; for, if such a derivation is once admitted, a similar derivation for the causal-adversative clause will not be denied.

At a time when belief in the variation of species and the resulting establishment of new types is a controlling tenet in the minds of the majority of investigators of so-called natural phenomena, it is strange that grammarians should devise difficult metaphysical origins for the narrative and the causal-adversative *quom*-clauses, while so natural — one may say so inevitable — an origin lies close at hand. And the marvel appears the greater when one sees how every explanation of the metaphysical kind fails when one applies the assumed principle to clauses with other temporal and other causal-adversative particles than *quom*.

We have seen with what success the explanation here advocated for the mode of the *quom*-clauses accounts for the use of the other mode after these other particles. We have also seen the appearance of a new force upon the scene after Plautus's time, in the rise of the qualitative use of so-called demonstratives. It remains then, in dealing with the issue for the last time, only to show how slight is the interval between some undoubted instance of this new force, namely, an acknowl-

edged qualitative *quom*-clause, and a corresponding narrative *quom*-clause. In doing this, I will take for my first starting-point a clause (now grown familiar) which Hoffmann himself, in his foot-note No. 113, classes as characterizing, and will then turn it into a form evidently the same, yet clearly possessing a narrative function. In addition, in order to assist our feeling, I will put our examples in English, marking by capitals such verbs as in Latin would be in the subjunctive.

(a) He got the place at a time when the prices of country estates WERE DOWN (. . . **eis temporibus quom iacerent**. Cic., Rosc. Com., 12, 33. Pure qualitative clause).

(b) He kept his money for some time idle. Then, at a time when the prices of country estates WERE DOWN, he bought a place.

The clause, while still qualitative, and in its own nature unchanged, is now so placed as to have a narrative function thrust upon it, and also an adversative bearing upon the main clause.

Again, let us start from an assumed clause which is purely qualitative (cf. the example from Cic., Rep., 2, 10, 18: *In id saeculum Romuli cecidit actas, quom . . . esset*).

(a) This (namely the raising of the army) took place just at a time when the fury of Antony WAS IN FULL BLAZE (**quom maxime furor arderet Antonii**, — a pure qualitative clause).

(b) Just at a time when the fury of Antony WAS IN FULL BLAZE, the young Caesar raised a vigorous army (*Caesar adulescens, . . . quom maxime furor arderet Antonii . . . , firmissimum exercitum . . . comparavit*. Cic., Phil., 3, 2, 3).

As before, the clause, while in its own nature unchanged, has in its present position a narrative function thrust upon it, and also an adversative bearing upon the main clause.

And now, finally, let us start again with our first Latin example of the pure qualitative *quom*-clause, and see what may happen to it in the way of the ordinary adventures of human speech:

(a) *Accipit agrum temporibus eis, quom iacerent pretia praediorum.* (Cic., Rosc. Com., 12, 33. Pure qualitative clause.)

Accipit agrum tum quom iacerent pretia praediorum.

Emit agrum tum quom iacerent pretia praediorum.

Tum quom iacerent pretia praediorum, emit agrum.

(b) *Quom iacerent pretia praediorum, emit agrum* (ordinary narrative clause).

In each of these three sets, the *when*-clause or *quom*-clause marked (*b*) is in the full narrative form, yet is essentially identical with the pure qualitative clause marked (*a*). Both clauses express the character of the situation under which (*eis temporibus quibus* or *quom*) the main act took place. So obvious is this that it would seem to require more boldness to dissociate the two than to identify them. Or, to put the matter in another aspect, one might well despair of solving any question of origins in this complex world if two things so remarkably alike were held to be too dissimilar to admit of a genesis of one of them from the other.

An apparent objection against the view here taken may be found in the fact that, in the simple cases which I have cited of the subjunctive of the situation in a non-narrative form (as in *accipit agrum eis temporibus quom iacerent pretia praediorum*), the subjunctive clause follows the main clause, whereas the narrative clause ordinarily precedes the main clause. But the objection cannot be sustained. The Latin order is entirely free, and the essential character of a construction is not affected by the place in the sentence in which it is employed. If the argument is good that two *quom*-constructions cannot be identical because one comes after the main clause and the other comes before it, then it follows with equal rigor that two *quom*-clauses, both of which come after the main clause, must be identical; as, for example, in *tum datae sunt quom ego me non belle haberem* and in the ordinary case of *quom inversum*; or that two *quom*-clauses, both of which precede the main clause, must be identical; as, for example, in *tum quom haberet res publica Luscinos* and *tum quom erant Catones*. Or, again, it follows with equal rigor that if two relative clauses stand, one before and one after the main clause, as in *exclusi eos quos tu ad me salutatum miseris* and *finem animae quae res humanas miscuit olim non gladii non saxa dabunt*, then they cannot both be determinative. What an objector must endeavor to show, then, is not that the explanation here given identifies two clauses that stand in different places in the sentence, but that the two clauses here identified are essentially different in meaning,—that, while one of them does express the character of the situation, the other, the narrative clause, does not.

The processes of development which we have sketched must have had their beginnings and their gains, as well as their successes. If we possessed the missing literature between Terence and Cicero, we should undoubtedly at some point — let us say the age of Lucilius — find the old and the new constructions side by side, not only in different authors, but in the same author.

It is commonly taken for granted that these changes were at an end before the year 81, and that the writers of the Ciceronian age present no irregularities in the *quom*-constructions. I have myself, through examples to be cited presently, been brought to a different opinion; nor can I now see any antecedent reason, in advance of a scrutiny of the literature, for an assumption that this or that process of change must have been completed before the time of any given writer. We have in fact found a change in one set of constructions (the *qui*-constructions after indefinite antecedents) going on in Cicero himself; and this circumstance alone is enough to overthrow the idea of a fixed and inviolable Ciceronian syntax.

In the two following sets of examples I begin with Plautus and Ennius, though the headings strictly do not include them.

SURVIVALS OF THE OLD INDICATIVE CAUSAL-ADVERSATIVE *Quom*-CLAUSE.

Quid tu te exornas, moribus lepidis **quom** lepida tute's? Plaut., Most., 168.

Hei mihi, insanire me aiunt, ultro **quom** ipsi **insaniunt**. Plaut., Men., 831.

Quom hoc non **possum**, illud minus possem. Ter., Phorm., 208.

Nam si, quod satis est homini, id satis esse potesset,

Hoc sat erat. Nunc **quom** hoc non **est**, qui credimus porro

Divitias ullas animum mi explere potesse?

Lucil., 5, 46-8 (Müll.).

O Publi, o gorges, Galloni: es homo miser, inquit,

Cenasti in vita numquam bene, **quom** omnia in ista

Consumis squilla atque acupensere **quom** in decimano.

Lucil., 4, 4-6 (Müll.).

Et postquam vostra verba senatus audivit, tanto magis animum nostrum indouimus, ita ut ei ante arbitrabamur, de eieis rebus af vobeis peccatum non esse.

Quonque de eis rebus senatui **purgati estis**, credimus vosque animum vostrum indocere oportet, item vos populo Romano purgatos fore. C. I. L., I, 201 (*circa ann. 100*).

Huc accedit uti, solidissima material
Corpora **quom constant**, possit **tamen**, omnia, reddi,
Mollia quae fiunt, aer aqua terra vapores,
Quo facto fiant et qua vi quaeque gerantur,
Admixtum quoniam semel est in rebus inane.

Lucr., I, 565-9.

Quin etiam passim nostris in versibus ipsis
Multa elementa vides multis communia verbis,
Quom tamen inter se versus ac verba necesse **est**
Confiteare alia ex aliis constare elementis.

Lucr., 2, 688-91.

Quae **quom** ita **sunt** tamen ut mortalia constant,
Molli lenta, fragosa putri, cava corpore raro,
Omnia sint a principiis seiuncta necessest,
Immortalia si volumus subiungere rebus
Fundamenta quibus nitatur summa salutis.

Lucr., 2, 859-63.

Dicere porro oculos nullam rem cernere posse,
Sed per eos animum ut foribus spectare reclusis,
Difficilest, contra quom sensus dicat eorum;
Sensus enim trahit atque acies detrudit ad ipsas;
Fulgida **praesertim quom** cernere saepe **nequimus**,
Lumina luminibus quia nobis praepediuntur.

Lucr., 3, 359-64.

Quippe etenim corpus, quod vas quasi constitit eius,
Quom cohibere **nequit** conquassatum ex aliqua re
Ac rarefactum detracto sanguine venis,
Aere qui credas posse hanc cohiberier ullo?

Lucr., 3, 440-3.

Nam quid possit ibi flatus manifesta docet res,
Hic, ubi lenior est, in terra **quom tamen** alta
Arbusta evolvens radicibus **haurit** ab imis.

Lucr., 6, 139-41.

Nec mirum, quom plena animae vensicula parva
Saepe ita **dat** torvum sonitum displosa repente.

Lucr., 6, 130-1.¹

Eundem Pompilium ait fecisse flamines, qui **quom** omnes **sunt** a singulis deis cognominati, in quibusdam apparent *ἔτυμα*, ut cur sit Martialis et Quirinalis, sunt in quibus flaminum cognominibus latent origines. Varr., L. L., 7, 45 (p. 331 Sp.) (*G. sint*, by correction, as Andreas Spengel thinks; the rest of the cdd. *sunt*).

¹ The passages from Lucretius here given are cited by Munro *ad* I, 566; but the passages Catull., 66, 47, Verg., Ecl., 3, 16, and Ov., A. A., 3, 655, which he also cites *ad* 6, 130, belong rather under the head of an individual application of a generalization (p. 229 of this study).

The text in Cic., Att., 16, 11, 2, is too uncertain to admit of the insertion of the passage here.

Ego quidem . . . tamen, quia video tali tempore multo magis legionibus opus esse quam provinciis, **quae praesertim** recipiari nullo negotio **possunt**, constitui, ut nunc est, cum exercitu proficisci. Asin. Poll., ap. Cic., Fam., 10, 31, 6 (all codd. possunt). (Schmalz accepts the indicative, "Ueber den Sprachgebrauch des Asinius Pollio," ii. 7. But I cannot, with him, find it necessary to take *praesertim quom pingebant* in Lucr., 5, 1393, as causal. It seems rather to be a case of the recurring situation, — "*especially at times when.*" So Munro.)

Idem (*scil. Lynceus*) sub terra solitus cernere dictus est ideo, quod aurifodinas norat. Is **quom descendebat** et aurum subito **ostendebat**, ita rumor sublatus eum sub terra solitum videre. Hygin., 14 (p. 46, l. 19, Schmidt).

The occurrence of the indicative in inferior late writers probably indicates a survival of the archaic idiom in vulgar Latin, e. g.:

Quid illi infamant in puteum esse dimissum,
Quom legimus illum sepulturae traditum esse?
 Commodianus, Carm. Apol., 473-4. So 133, 381, 382, 748.

SURVIVALS OF THE OLD INDICATIVE NARRATIVE *Quom*-CLAUSE.

For the following *quom*-clauses, I am obliged to print an amount of context sufficient to show that the act stated in each is a new event in the narration, — the test of the construction.

Excita **quom** tremulis anus **attulit** artubus lumen,
 Talia commemorat lacrimans, exterrita somno.

Enn., Ann., 1, 28-9.

"Eunt," inquam, "in ludum saltatorium inter cinaedos virgines puerique ingenui. Haec **quom** mihi quisquam **narrabat**, non poteram animum inducere ea liberos suos homines nobiles docere. Sed **quom ductus sum** in ludum saltatorium plus medius fidiis in eo ludo vidi pueris virginibusque quinquaginta." Scip. Min., ap. Macrobi., Sat., 3, 14, 6.

(The clause *quom Romam profectus sum*, in C. Gracchus, ap. Gell., 15, 12, may be determinative. An interesting narrative clause after *quo in tempore*, however, is preserved from the same orator:

Legationes autem a regibus . . . pecunias maxumas praebent, item uti in terra Graecia, **quo in tempore** Graecus tragoedus gloriae sibi **ducebat** talentum magnum ob unam fabulam datum esse, homo eloquentissimus civitatis suae, Demades, ei respondisse dicitur: . . . "ego, ut tacerem, decem talenta a rege accepi." Gell., 11, 10.)

Haec quom dixisset, iuravit se nisi victorem in castra non reversurum reliquosque ut idem facerent hortatus est. Hoc laudans Pompeius idem iuravit; nec

vero ex reliquis fuit quisquam, qui iurare dubitaret. Haec **quom facta sunt** in consilio, magna spe et laetitia omnium discessum est. Caes., B. C., 3, 87, 7.

Reliquas copias cum omnibus impedimentis, ut consueverat, misit captis quibusdam cohortibus, uti numerus legionum constare videretur. His quam longissime possent egredi iussis, **quom** iam ex diei tempore coniecturam **ceperat** in castra perventum, isdem publiciis, quarum pars inferior integra remanebat, pontem reficere coepit. Celeriter effecto opere legionibusque traductis et loco castris idoneo delecto reliquas copias revocavit. Caes., B. G., 7, 35, 4-5.

Postea vero, **quom** Caesarem ad Massiliam detineri **cognovit**, copias Petreii cum exercitu Afranii esse coniunctas, magna auxilia convenisse, magna esse in spe atque expectari et consentire omnem citeriorem provinciam, quaeque postea acciderant, de angustiis ad Ilerdam rei frumentariae, **accepit**, atque haec ad eum latius atque inflatius Afranius **perscribebat**, se quoque ad motus fortunae movere coepit. Caes., B. C., 2, 17, 3.

Quem vis tempestatis ita obscurabat, ut vix proximum agnoscere posset. Cuius incommodum summam utilitatem ipsis praebebat. Ita **quom** ad eum locum **venērunt**, iubet binos equites incedere, et recta per adversariorum praesidia ad oppidum contendere. Bell. Hisp., 3, 4-7.

Remissis legatis, quom ad portam venisset Tib. Tullius, et quom eum introeuntem C. Antonius insecutus non esset, revertit ad portam et hominem adprehendit. Quod Tiberius **quom** fieri **animadvertit**, simul pugionem eduxit, et manum eius incidit. Bell. Hisp., 18.

Quom omnes se receperant nostri ordines, recipere me novissimus coepi ad castra; Antonius tamquam victor castra putavit se posse capere: quo **quom venit**, conpluris ibi amisit nec egit quicquam. Audita re Hirtius cum cohortibus xx. veteranis redeunti Antonio in sua castra occurrit copiasque eius omnis delevit. Galba ad Cic., Fam., 10, 30, 4.

Itaque fit omnibus recusantibus et plorantibus: dies is erat legitimus comitiis habendis: eo modo sacerdos Climachias renuntiatus est. Herodotus **quom** Roma **revertitur**, diebus, ut ipse putabat, quindecim ante comitia, offendit eum mensem, qui consequitur mensem comitiale, comitiis iam abhinc diebus triginta factis. Tunc Cephaloeditani decrerunt intercalarium xxxv dies longum, ut reliqui menses in suam rationem reverterentur. Cic., Verr., 2, 52, 129-30.

Sic absens amicitiam gerebat, ut non beneficiis mutuis, sed communi odio, quod erga regem susceperant, contineri viderentur. Id **quom** satis se confirmasse **arbitratus est**, certiores facit Datamen tempus esse maiores exercitus parari et bellum cum ipso rege suscipi, deque ea re, si ei videretur, quo loco vellet, in conloquium veniret. Nep., Dat., 11, 6.

Hi omnes fere Athenas se contulerant, non quo se quarentur otium, sed ut, quem ex proximo locum fors obtulisset, eo patriam recuperare niterentur. Itaque **quom** tempus **est visum** rei gerendae, communiter cum iis, qui Thebis idem sentiebant, diem delegerunt ad inimicos opprimendos civitatemque liberandum eum, quo maximi magistratus simul consueverant epulari. Nep., Pelop., 2, 1-2. (Cf. Huic **quom** tempus **esset visum** copias extrahere ex hibernaculis, Ages., 3, 4.)

Hac re probata exercitum educit, Mithrobarzanem persequitur tantum; qui **quom** ad hostes **pervenerat**, Datames signa inferri iubet. Nep., Dat., 6, 5-6.

Equidem a principio **quom** Etruriam coniurare, proscriptos accersiri, largitionibus rempublicam lacerari **videbam**, maturandum putabam, et Catuli consilia cum paucis secutus sum. Sall., Orat., Philipp., 6.

Veterum non immemor ille parentum
 Gratatur reduces et gaza laetus agresti
 Excipit ac fessos opibus solatur amicos.
 Postera **quom** primo stellas Oriente **fugarat**
 Clara dies, socios in coetum litore ab omni
 Advocat Aeneas tumulique ex aggere fatur.

Verg., Aen., 5, 39-44.¹

Diditur hic subito Troiana per agmina rumor,
 Advenisse diem, quo debita moenia condant.
 Certatim instaurant epulas atque omine magno
 Crateras laeti statuunt et vina coronant.
 Postera **quom** prima **lustrabat** lampade terras
 Orta dies, urbem et finis et litora gentis
 Diversi explorant; haec fontis stagna Numici,
 Hunc Thybrim fluvium, hic fortis habitare Latinos.

Verg. Aen., 7, 144-51.¹

(Compare Cic., Fam., 15, 4, 8: A. d. IIII. Id. Oct., **quom** **advesperaseret**, expedito exercitu ita noctu iter feci ut . . .)

Nihilo demissiore animo, **quom** dies **venit**, causa ipse pro se dicta, nequicquam omnia expertis patribus, ut mitigarent plebem, quindecim millibus aeris damnatur. Liv., 4, 44, 10. Similarly, 6, 20, 4.

Quom senatus summa fide ex censu contulisset, primores plebis, nobilium amici, ex composito conferre incipiunt. Quos **quom** et a patribus collaudari et a militari aetate tamquam bonos cives conspici vulgus hominum **vidit**, repente, spreto tribunicio auxilio, certamen conferendi est ortum. Liv., 4, 60, 8. (Mdg. *videret*.) Similarly 23, 20, 5; 24, 7, 2; 28, 3, 6; 29, 37, 8 (indicative and subjunctive combined); 42, 5, 8 (Weissenborn and Mdg. *nuntiatum esset* for *est*²).

Postremo vulneribus ligamenta quibusque sistitur sanguis parare eundem Milichum monet, sive gnarum coniurationis et illuc usque fidum, seu nescium et tunc primum arreptis suspicionibus, ut plerique tradidere, de consequentibus. Nam **quom** secum servilis animus praemia perfidiae **reputavit** simulque inmensa pecunia et potentia **obversabantur**, cessit fas et salus patroni et acceptae libertatis memoria. Etenim uxoris quoque consilium adsumpserat muliebre ac deterius. Tac., An., 15, 54.

Quod existimasse videbatur et Cicero scribens de officiis tertio libro semper Caesarem in ore habuisse Euripidis versus, quos sic ipse convertit:

Nam si violandum est ius, regnandi gratia
 Violandum est: aliis rebus pietatem colas.

¹ The ordinary Virgilian manner is to use independent pluperfect or imperfect indicatives in such cases, as in 11, 183.

² Madvig's note runs thus: "Sed hoc incertum; illud certum, paulo post scribendum esse: *quum Thessalos in armis esse nuntiatum esset* (cod. et edd. *est*), *App. Claudium legatum ad eas res aspiciendas . . . senatus misit*. Indicatur causa legati mittendi, non, legationem incidisse in id tempus, *quum nuntiatum illud de Thessalis sit (tum, quum . . . est)*." Madvig's feeling about the force of the indicative in the ordinary use is entirely right; but he has failed to observe the persistence of the archaic usage.

Quom ergo sublatam tribunorum intercessionem ipsosque urbe cessisse **nuntiatum est**, praemissis confestim clam cohortibus, ne qua suspicio moveretur, et spectaculo publico per dissimulationem interfuit, et formam, qua ludum gladiatorium erat aedificaturus, consideravit et ex consuetudine convivio se frequenti dedit. Suet., Iul., 30-31.

Mos antea senatoribus Romae fuit, in curiam cum praetextatis filiis introire. Tum, **quom** in senatu res maior quaequam consultata eaque in diem posterum prolata **est placuitque** ut eam rem, super qua tractavissent, nequis enuntiaret priusquam decreta esset, mater Papirii pueri, qui cum parente suo in curia fuerat, percontata est filium, quidnam in senatu patres egissent. Gell., I, 23, 4-5.

Tunc ibi amici mei, quos rogaveram in consilium, viri exercitati atque in patrociniiis et in operis fori celebres semperque se circumundique distrahentibus causis festinantes, non sedendum diutius ac nihil esse dubium dicebant, quin absolvendus foret, quem accepisse pecuniam nulla probatione sollempni docebatur. Sed enim ego homines **quom considerabam**, alterum fidei, alterum probri plenum spurcissimaeque vitae ac defamatissimae, nequaquam adduci potui ad absolvendum. Iussi igitur diem diffindi. . . . Gell., I, 2, 9-11.

A systematic search would doubtless bring to light a large number of these old-fashioned narrative clauses.

THE OVER-DEVELOPMENT OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE *Quom*-CLAUSE.

The spread of the subjunctive idiom, as we have watched it in the qualitative *quom*-constructions, might, or might not, be arrested within logical limits. It would at least be not unnatural that the extremely frequent recurrence of the subjunctive with *quom* in the narrative clause, together with its occasional recurrence in incidentally determinative qualitative clauses, with or without causal-adversative bearing,¹ should in time lead to an obscuring of the true distinction between the indicative and the subjunctive clause, and to an employment of the former mode where the clause ought in strictness to be determinative; just as the classifying subjunctive came to be used in *qui*-clauses that should have been determinative. I have found but one instance of such an over-development in Cicero's time, though

¹ As in cases like *temporibus eis quom iacerent, tum quom ego me non belle haberem, tum quom indigeremus, tum quom spes deseruisset*, on p. 173; *tum quom esset incertus exitus belli*, on p. 177; and *eo tempore quom in Italia C. Curio non esset, tum quom esset index, quom esset adolescens*, on p. 181.

not in him; but examples certainly occur occasionally in the writers of the next century and later; e. g.:

Praeterea Marcellus . . . eam distulit relationem, sane quam eos sermones expressit, qui de eo **tum** fuerant, **quom** Romae nos **essemus**. Cael., ap. Cic., Fam., 8, 1, 2,

Effice ut idem status sit, quo exis, qui fuit **quom** **promitterem**. Sen., Ben., 4, 39, 4.¹

Equester ordo bis patronum eum perferendae pro se legationis elegit, **semel quom** deportandum Romam corpus Augusti umeris suis ab consulibus **exposceret**, **iterum quom** oppressum Seianum apud eosdem **gratularetur**. Suet., Claud., 6. (The subjunctive is less remarkable here than in the preceding example).

Amphora Niliaci non sit tibi vilis aceti :

Esset quom vinum, vilior illa fuit.

Martial., 13, 122, 1-2.

Et quia nefas est obnoxiiis corporibus alienatis circumscribi civitates, placuit, si qui debitor rei publicae civitatis quippiam ex eo patrimonio, quod habuit **quom** pecuniam rei publicae **sumeret**, donaverit vel distraxerit vel qualibet in alium ratione contulerit, qualitate rei alienatae perspecta atque omnibus debitoris facultatibus consideratis, quas habuit, **quom** ei pecunia **crederetur**, pro rata ab eo, qui ex debitoris facultatibus aliquid detinet ex sorte atque usuris postulari. Cod. Justin., 11, 33 (Krüg.).

DISCUSSION OF EARLY EXAMPLES OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE WITH *Quom*.

Lübbert, in his examination of examples of the subjunctive *quom*-clause in Early Latin, proceeds upon a plan the general course of which is manifestly sound. I shall first briefly reproduce his procedure.

The passage cited from Livius Andronicus in Priscian, viii., p. 817, Keil (*quom socios nostros mandisset impius Ciclops*), had already, Lübbert tells us, been brought under grave suspicion by Gottfr. Hermann, who pointed out that it was based on Hom., Od., 20, 19, and that it failed to render the meaning of that passage, which clearly calls for an indicative (τέτλαθι δῆ, κραδίη· καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ' ἔτλης "Ἡματι τῷ ὅτε μοι μένος ἄσχετος ἦσθιε Κύκλωψ Ἰφθίμους ἐτάρους). In view of this

¹ I owe this and the two following examples to Fischer's valuable collection in the article on *Cum* in Harpers' Lexicon, to which, as well as to Fischer's Latin Grammar, I wish again to express my obligation.

fact, and of the further fact that even as late as Terence the subjunctive construction is, at the most, very rare, Lübbert believes the passage to be corrupt, and suggests an emendation (*mandit sex* for *mandisset*).

In dealing with Plautus and Terence, Lübbert throws out, very properly, all cases in which the subjunctive stands in a conditional clause, or in which it might be due to the *oratio obliqua* or to assimilation.

Taking up first the temporal clauses remaining, he finds two subjunctives in Plautus, beside the case Truc., 381, in which the indicative is now restored from A; and one subjunctive in Terence. These examples he regards as corrupt, since one of them has in itself a certain strangeness of diction, and since the three together are numerically heavily overbalanced by the corresponding indicative constructions in Plautus and Terence.

In Ennius he finds a single example, which he accepts as the first occurring in the literature. On the other hand, he does not cite the case in Ann., 296 Müll., which I shall presently discuss.

In Cato, he is inclined to accept an example in a passage cited by Gellius, 3, 7, 19, and possibly an example cited by Isidorus, Orig., 20, 3, 8.

Proceeding to the causal-adversative clauses, he finds four subjunctives in Plautus (one of which is lacking in A, and is therefore probably an interpolation) and two in Terence. The three cases in Plautus he explains — unsuccessfully, in my opinion — as free potentials,¹ while he finds in the two cases in Terence the first veritable examples of the causal-adversative subjunctive. The case in Naevius is therefore, he thinks, to be rejected, as having no support in its own century.

Lübbert's influence upon general opinion in regard to the state of the *quom*-constructions in Plautus and Terence has been great, and I might avail myself in part of the resulting scepticism concerning the age of the subjunctive temporal construction, since that scepticism leaves the door open for my theory that the constructions came into use with the rise, after Terence's

¹ His reasoning is discussed on pp. 51-2 in Part I. of this Study.

time, of *is qui, etc., consecutive*. I do not, however, agree at all points with Lübbert's reasoning, and must state the case for myself, dealing first with the temporal clauses, and next with the causal-adversative.

The sum total of subjunctive temporal *quom*-clauses in Early Latin down to Cato inclusive is as follows. I do not cite the examples between Cato and Cicero, since they neither make against my theory (the period to which they belong is the one in which I suppose the new constructions to be coming into use), nor are in any special way important.

Quom socios nostros
Mandisset impius Ciclops.

Livius Andronicus, ap. Prisc., viii., 817.

Quem quidem hercle ego in exilium **quom iret** redduxi domum.

Nam ibat exulatum.

Plaut., Merc., 967-8.

O Astaphium, haut istoc modo solitas me ante adpellare,

Sed blande, **quom** illuc quod aput vos nunc est aput me **haberem**.

Plaut., Truc., 161-2.

Quomque caput caderet, carmen tuba sola peregit,

Et pereunte viro raucum sonus aere cucurrit.

Enn., 512-13, Müll.

Haece locutu' vocat, quoi tum bene saepe libenter

295 Mensam sermonesque suos rerumque suarum

Inpartit cumulum, magnam quom lassu' diei

Partem fuisset de summis rebu' regundis

Consilio indu foro lato sanctoque senatu;

Cui res audacter magnas parvasque iocumque

300 Eloqueretur, uti iuxta malaque et bona dictu

Evomeret, si qui vellet, tutoque locaret,

Prudenter quod dicta loquive tacereve posset;

Quocum multa volup et gaudia clamque palamque;

Ingenium, cui nulla malum sententia suadet

305 Ut faceret facinus levis aut malu'; doctu', fidelis

Suavis homo . . .

Enn., 294-306, Müll.

[294 *quoi tum* M(uellerus), *quod cum* codd plerique, *quod eum* Reg. 296 *inpertit cumulum* M, *comiter* (comitum Lugdun.) *inpertit* cdd. Fortasse servandam scripturam codicum et post illud *rerumque suarum* versum haustum putat M. 300 *utei iuxta* M (*iuxta* iam Gronovius), *et cuncta* codd., *malusque* pars codd. vers. 302 *prudenter* — *posset*, qui in libris legitur ante 312, huc revocavit M. *prudenter* Vahlenus, *prudenter* codd. From Professor Postgate's forthcoming *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum*.]

Magistratus **quom** ibi **adesset**, ocepst agi. Ter., Eun., Prol., 22.

Nam ita evenit : **quom** saucius multifariam ibi factus **esset**, tamen volnus capiti nullum evenit eumque inter mortuos . . . cognovere. Cat., ap. Gell., 3, 7, 19.

[*Ita evenit ita VP, ita evenit uti p. Ita evenit : cum R et cdd. recentes.* From Hertz's Gellius.]

Quom **essem** in provincia legatus, quamplures ad praetores et consules vinum honorarium dabant. Cat., ap. Isidor., Orig., 20, 3, 8 (p. 64, 1 Jordan).

The entire number of subjunctive temporal clauses, then, in the authors of whom we have considerable remains is three, — two in Plautus, and one in Terence. The entire number of indicative temporal clauses in these authors, on the other hand, is so great as to bring these subjunctive readings under grave suspicion, as every reader of Latin comedy must feel. It looks as if they were due to the carelessness of copyists of later times, acting under the influence of their own idiom. And it is noteworthy that in each of these three passages the indicative (*ibat, habebam, adsedit*) can be restored without offence to the metre.

The examples from Livius and Cato, and one of the examples from Ennius, have come down to us only in a single citation each. The other example from Ennius has been preserved only in a scholium of Lactantius Placidus upon Statius, Thebais, 11, 55, found in a single manuscript.

It is obvious that evidence of this kind must be admitted with caution. An idiom which is habitual in the time in which the citation is made may very naturally get itself written down in place of an obsolete idiom, if one is quoting from memory, and even if one is copying carelessly from a manuscript. This assertion is borne out by facts. In Plaut., Aul., 178, the manuscripts agree upon

Praesagibat mi animus frustra me ire, quom exhibam domo ;

while Cicero, quoting the verse entire in Div., 1, 31, 65, writes *exirem*, unconsciously following the feeling of his own time. A still more instructive case is Nonius's self-convicting error in citing Plaut., Trin., 194:

Posticulum hoc recepit, quom aedis vendidit.

Nonius has *venderet* on p. 384, 12, while on p. 54, 16, he has the correct *vendiit*.

It is clear that evidence which has passed through such risks is not weighty. But, unhappily, even the manuscripts on which we have especially to rely can be proved to have been exposed to risks from the same cause, though of course in a lesser degree. Up to the time of the discovery of the Ambrosian palimpsest, no one thought of questioning the good Ciceronian *sorderemus* in Plaut., Truc., 380-1:

Verum tempestas . . . quondam fuit,
Quom inter nos **sorderemus** alter alteri.

But the publication of the reading *sordebamur* of A left no doubt that the subjunctive of the other and younger manuscripts was due to the influence of the idiom of his own time upon some reader who was dictating for copying, or upon a copyist himself.

So, then, if we remember that precisely constructions of this kind are most liable to corruption, and that even the three examples afforded by Plautus and Terence are heavily overbalanced by indicative examples, we shall be indisposed, on grounds so treacherous, to decline to consider a theory which, like the one here advocated, cannot account for them. Nor if we should add the five examples that rest upon citations, would the aspect of the matter be materially changed.

Thus far, I have taken the case of the subjunctive examples, with the exception of the one from Andronicus, at its strongest. A close scrutiny, however, leaves still less weight to their evidence.

The two examples from Plautus and the example from Terence are in themselves unobjectionable.

We have seen that the passage from Livius Andronicus mis-translates the construction in the Odyssey of which it is meant to be a rendering. The fact is insufficient to condemn the passage, but it weakens its evidence.

The short passage from Cato is in itself unobjectionable. But in the longer passage there is a corruption in the manuscripts. V has a meaningless *ita*, while P has, in one hand, an *ita*, in another, an *uti*, followed, at some distance, by the indicatives *evenit* and *cognovere*. I will not discuss the question whether

the better emendation is to accept *uti* and change the indicatives (in which case the verb of the *quom*-clause would cease to be evidence, since it might be due to attraction), or to throw out *uti* and accept the awkward *ita*. I will merely point out that the condition of the text weakens its value in a matter of controversy.

No objection on internal grounds can be brought against the short passage from Ennius. But the long passage is involved in several difficulties. The text is unintelligible as it stands in the manuscripts. Müller himself, though he prints *inpertit cumulum* as his emendation for *comiter inpertit*, expresses himself as in doubt whether the reading of the manuscripts ought not to be preserved, and a lacuna be assumed after the ungoverned *rerumque suarum*. Havet has declared himself on the side of a lacuna. We cannot, then, be sure in what context *cum fuisset*, if written by Ennius, really stood; or, in other words, to what feeling its mode is due. Further, there are two difficulties which Müller does not point out. As the passage stands, the most probable construction for *eloqueretur*, that of purpose, is very harsh. A still stronger objection is that *quom fuisset*, as we have it, is an example of the subjunctive of repeated action, — a construction which, outside of the generalizing second person, no one has hitherto believed to be early.¹

One thing alone defends the *fuisset*, — its archaic *ū*. But an easier explanation of this can be suggested than that of the occurrence of the subjunctive of repeated action at this period. The obviously careless copyist may have had before him a *quom . . . partem iam fuerat*, and, overlooking *iam* after *-tem*, and half catching the form of the verb, may have put it into the construction of his own day, and liked it all the better because of the archaic *ū* involved. Yet, in view of the *comiter inpertit*, and the *cui eloqueretur*, I should be more inclined to let the *fuisset* stand, and accept Müller's and Havet's suggestion of a lacuna.

The evidence for the subjunctive narrative clause in the times

¹ It is worth mentioning that line 310, as it has come down to us, is so difficult that Müller assumes a lacuna, and also that the construction *ingenium cui . . . suadet* is unsound, unless it is archaic (see p. 157). (Vahlen and Bachrens emend to *suasset*.)

of Plautus and Terence being thus small in quantity and in part weak on internal grounds, it appears to me that the few examples adduced should not stand in the way of a theory which fairly accounts for the condition of things in classical Latin in the *quom*-clauses, for the impelling cause of the change from the old constructions, and for the fact that this cause failed to operate upon the — at first sight similar — constructions after *postquam*, etc., and after *quoniam* and *quando*. And I feel this the more strongly, since the best attested of these same examples, the two from Plautus and the one from Terence, have not stood in the way of the acceptance of Lübbert's theory. Perhaps nothing will better show the tendency of opinion in this matter than the fact that Goetz, referring to Lübbert's discussion, writes *ibat* in place of the *iret* of the cdd. in Plaut., Merc., 980, and Schoell, with a similar reference, reads *habebam* in place of the *haberem* of the cdd. in Plaut., Truc., 162; so that both of the two subjunctive examples in Plautus disappear from the latest critical edition that has reached these plays.

It would seem, at first sight, that our examples of survivals of the old indicative narrative *quom*-clause had in themselves furnished evidence against the genuineness of the examples of the subjunctive which we have just discussed. One might easily feel that a construction of which remains still existed in classical Latin could not already have begun to give way before a new construction so early as the time of Plautus. But the apparent evidence convicts itself of worthlessness. For indicative examples occur, — *e. g.*, in Tacitus and Aulus Gellius; and the same reasoning would lead us to suppose that the subjunctive could not yet have been known so early as the time of Cicero.

As regards the subjunctive causal-adversative examples, we have a case somewhat different from that of the subjunctive temporal examples. The subjunctive is already in free use in Plautus in causal-adversative *qui*-clauses, and the mode may easily have been extended sporadically from these to the *quom*-clauses. Yet there are some indications that in these examples also a later grammatical feeling may have brought about an unintentional corruption. The occurrence of indicative constructions in Lucilius, in the senatorial document of about the

year 100, cited on page 203 above, in Varro, and in Lucretius, striking as it is, must not be held as having weight in regard to the date of the change, since we have already found the argument from chronology to fail us in the case of the indicative narrative clauses. We have left only the evidence from Plautus and Terence. Plautus has three examples of the subjunctive which rest on good manuscript authority. Lübbert explains them away as independent potentials. I find myself obliged, on the contrary, to regard these cases either as genuine examples, or as corruptions due to the unconscious working of a different grammatical habit in later times. Now against these three examples are to be set forty-eight¹ examples of the indicative, causal or adversative. A disproportion so great must, under the general circumstances, lead us at the least to regard the existence of the subjunctive construction in Plautus as not proved. In the case of Terence, the disproportion is less; namely, nine indicatives against two subjunctives. One might see in these figures a slight gain on the part of a new idiom. The settlement of the question, whether in the one way or the other, does not affect the theory here advocated. If we accept the examples from Plautus and Terence, then we must simply suppose that the working of the influences which would, of themselves alone, have developed a causal-adversative subjunctive *quom*-clause was accelerated by the influence of the corresponding *qui*-clauses. And, in any case, we may fairly conjecture, in view of the state of the constructions in Terence, and again in the earliest writings of Cicero, that, whatever may have been the date of the first occurrence of the new idiom, the generation which witnessed the general conversion of the mode, both in the causal-adversative and in the narrative *quom*-clauses, was that of Lucilius.

¹ I am indebted to Lübbert's study (*Die Syntax von Quom*, pp. 109-142) for my figures, though I have been obliged to throw out six cases which he classes with the adversative indicative construction on p. 122, but which really belong to the generalizing construction. See p. 53 of Part I. of the present Study, and also pp. 227-228 of the present Part.

The causal-adversative idea having come, as shown under the last category, to be associated, in the essential *quom*-clauses (as *earlier* in the *qui*-clauses) with the subjunctive mode, the use of that mode to express the causal-adversative idea will naturally make encroachments in the non-essential clauses (clauses after self-defining antecedents). Yet on the other hand the indicative clause, since it is the true qualitative construction after a self-defining antecedent, will continue to maintain itself, and will constitute a tacit causal-adversative *quom*-clause. Hence the following category of contrasting constructions:

II. (Postponed from p. 170.) **The tacit causal-adversative *qui-quom*-construction after self-defining antecedents (i. e., in non-essential clauses) versus the explicit causal-adversative construction.**

The tacit causal-adversative clause (indicative).

Quid dicam de Hirtio? **qui** re audita e castris duas legiones **eduxit** incredibili studio atque virtute. . . . Cic., Phil., 14, 10, 27.

Neque enim, si tibi tum, quom peteres consulatum, adfui, nunc, **quom** Murenam ipsum **petis**, adiutor eodem pacto esse debeo. Cic., Mur., 3, 8.

Qui quidem si absolutus esset . . . , quonam modo istos philosophos ferre possemus, qui **nunc, quom** ille damnatus **est** nullam aliam ob culpam nisi propter dicendi inscientiam, **tamen** a se oportere dicunt peti praecepta dicendi. Cic., De Or., 1, 54, 233.

Quanto enim facilius abire fuit, quom procul abessemus, quam **nunc, quom** in cervicibus **sumus**? Liv., 44, 39, 7.

The explicit causal-adversative clause (subjunctive).

Sed quid ego de me loquor? **qui** morum ac temporum vitio aliquantum etiam ipse fortasse in huius saeculi errore **verser**? Cic., Parad., 6, 3, 50.

Tum enim, quom rem habebas, quaestulus te faciebat attentiores: **nunc, quom** tam aequo animo bona **perdas**, non eo sis consilio, ut, cum me hospitio recipias, aestimationem te aliquam putes accipere. Cic., Fam., 9, 16, 7.

Quod si tum, quom res publica vim et severitatem desiderabat, vici naturam et tam vehemens fui quam cogebar, non quam volebam, **nunc, quom** omnes me causae ad misericordiam atque ad humanitatem **vocent**, quanto tandem studio debeo naturae meae consuetudinique servire? Cic., Mur., 3, 7. Similarly Att., 13, 23, 1, and elsewhere not infrequently. Add Liv., 32, 20, 4; 37, 54, 15; and Columella, 12 Pr.

Quin **hoc tempore ipso, quom** omnes a meis inimicis faces invidiae meae **subiciantur, tamen** omni in hominum coetu gratiis agendis et gratulationibus habendis et omni sermone celebramur. Cic., Mil., 35, 98.

IV. (Postponed from p. 171.) The loosely attached (added or inserted) qualitative clause (indicative) versus the closely attached qualitative or causal-adversative clause (subjunctive).

A. — WITHOUT CAUSAL-ADVERSATIVE BEARING.

Loosely attached qualitative clause.

Fuit enim, ut scriptum video, Arganthonius **quidam** Gadibus, **qui** octoginta **regnaverat** annos, centum viginti **vixerat**. Cic., Sen., 19, 69.

Unus et alter dies intercesserat, **quom** res parum certa **videbatur**. Cic., Clu., 26, 72. (Two days had intervened, *and during this time . . .*)

Closely attached qualitative clause.

Accessit etiam quod magis **aperiret** eorum dementiam. Nep., Pel., 3, 2.

Biennium praeteriit, **quom** ille Καλλιπ-
πίδης adsiduo cursu cubitum nullum **pro-**
cesserit. Cic., Att., 13, 12, 3. (Two
years of inactivity passed by.)

B. — WITH CAUSAL-ADVERSATIVE BEARING.

Causal-adversative bearing, tacitly conveyed.

Iam **quom** sint numeri plures, iambum et trochaicum frequentem segregat ab oratore Aristoteles, Catule, vester, **qui** natura **tamen** **incurrunt** ipsi in orationem sermonemque nostrum. Cic., de Or., 3, 47, 182.

Fit gemitus omnium et clamor; **quom tamen** a praesenti supplicio tuo **continuit** populus Romanus se et **re-**
pressit. Cic., Verr., 5, 29, 74.

Divorsi cupide summis ex viribus ten-
dunt,

Quom interea validis Veneris compagi-
bus **haerent**.

Lucr., 4, 1204.

Caedebatur virgis in medio foro Mes-
sanac civis Romanus, iudices, **quom**
interea nullus gemitus, nulla vox alia
illius miseri inter dolorem crepitumque
plagarum **audiebatur**, nisi haec: 'civis
Romanus sum.' Cic., Verr., 5, 62, 162.
(. . . *and all the while* not a groan was
heard.)

Causal-adversative bearing, explicitly conveyed.

Fuit enim mirificus quidam in Crasso pudor; **qui tamen** non **obesset** eius orationi, sed probitatis commendatione **prodesset**. Cic., de Or., 1, 26, 122.

Quotiens te pater eius domu sua eiecit? quotiens custodes posuit, ne limen intrares? **quom** tu **tamen** nocte socia, hortante libidine, cogente mercede, per tegulas **demittere**. Cic., Phil., 2, 18, 45.

Primum et primus mulsum domi meae bibere coepi ipse, **quom interea** nihilo minus paene cotidie in convivio omnibus **darem** mulsum. Varr., R. R., 3, 16, 2.

Simulat se eorum praesidio confidere, **quom interea** aliud quiddam iam diu **machinetur**. Cic., Caccil., 6, 15.

Inde nocte intempesta, crepidatus, veste servili navem conscendit Brundisiumque vitavit et ultimas Hadriani maris oras petivit: **quom interim** Dyrrachii milites domum, in qua istum esse arbitrantur, obsidere **coeperunt** et, quom latere hominem putarent, ignis **circumdederunt**. Cic., Pis., 38, 93.

Evolarat iam e conspectu fere fugiens quadriremis; **quom etiam tum** ceterae naves uno in loco **moliebantur**. Cic., Verr., 5, 34. 88. (. . . and still . .)

Similarly *quom tamen*, Sall., Iug., 88, 2; *quom interim*, 12, 5; *quom nihilo minus*, Nep., Dat., 10, 3.

Ab eodem homine in stupris inauditis nefariisque versato vetus illa magistra pudoris et modestiae, censura, sublata est; **quom tu interim**, bustum rei publicae, qui te consulem tum Romae dicis fuisse, verbo numquam **significaris** sententiam tuam tantis in naufragiis civitatis. Cic., Pis., 4, 9.

Quod flagitium Lentulus non cum Autronio concepit? quod sine eodem illo Catilina facinus admisit? **quom interim** Sulla cum eisdem illis non modo noctem solitudinemque non **quaereret**, sed ne mediocri quidem sermone et congressu **coniungeretur**. Cic., Sull., 5, 16.

It is clear, then, that in Cic., Rosc., Am., 5, 12, both readings (*factae sunt* and *factae sint*, following *quom interea*) are sound Latin.

Saxa quoque infesto vollebant pondere, si qua Possent tectam aciem perrumpere: **quom tamen** omnis Ferre iuvat subter densa testudine casus.

Verg., Aen., 9, 512-14. Similarly 10, 508-9. [So the cdd.]

Quanto colorum pulcritudine et varietate floridiora sunt in picturis novis pleraque quam in veteribus! quae tamen, etiamsi primo aspectu nos ceperunt diutius non delectant; **quom** eidem nos in antiquis tabulis illo ipso horrido obsoletoque **teneamur**. Cic., de Or., 3, 25, 98.

Ladewig takes offence at *quom*, and emends to *quos*; but we have seen that *qui* and *quom* have a parallel latitude of mode in this construction.

Id modo plebes agitabat, quonam modo tribuniciam potestatem, munimentum libertati, rem intermissam, repararent: **quom interim** mentio comitiorum nulla fieri. Liv., 3, 37, 5. Similarly *quom hauddum*, 28, 2, 1.

Accedit his, quod etiam fortuna longam praestandi huiusce muneris vacationem estis assecuti: **quom interim consumpti sint** anni vestri, et mariti et patris nomine vacui. Val. Max., 2, 9, 1.

The habit of using the indicative and the subjunctive indifferently, with a fairly strong temporal feeling in the former case, leads to an occasional use where the temporal feeling would be very slight, as in the second example following, or where it can hardly be supposed to exist, as in the first example following:—

Et tanta stultitia mortalium est, ut, quae minima et vilissima sunt, certe reparabilia, imputari sibi, quom inpetrare, patiantur, nemo se iudicet quicquam debere, qui tempus accepit; **quom interim** hoc unum **est**, quod ne gratus quidem potest reddere. Sen., Ep. Mor., 1, 1, 3.

An non videtur tibi Nero modo modo fuisse? **Quom interim** ex iis qui sub illo gesserant consulatum nemo iam **superest**. Plin., Ep., 3, 7, 11.

In the next two categories the indicative clauses are simply variations upon the determinative clause, seen in its simplest form under Category V.

VI. Preliminary neutral (non-committal) presentation of a certain person, thing, or time, followed by a statement with regard to that person, thing, or time (with unexpressed causal or adversative relation between the two clauses), versus (a) the simple expression of the relation through the subjunctive, or (b) the clause of situation, with causal or adversative bearing.

The scheme of treatment is as if one first said: "*Set before your mind the following person, thing, or time.*" Now, in regard to that person, thing, or time, note these facts: —

The construction is the most subtle of all the *quom*-constructions, and is made extremely important by the fact that (if I do not mistake) *it may at any time and under any circumstances be used instead of the subjunctive construction, provided that the act referred to in it is presumably already known to the hearer or reader.* The construction is not employed to inform the hearer or reader of a new act in the progress of a narrative; though it seems occasionally to be used where the speaker is rehearsing events which are independently familiar to his hearers, as in the example De Or., 2, 59, 242, to be cited later (p. 222).

A large number of examples for which no explanation hitherto given has seemed satisfactory become intelligible by being placed under this category.

Preliminary (neutral) presentation through determinative clause (construction of reserved meaning).

Quem igitur cum omnium gratia noluit, **hunc** voluit cum aliquorum querella? **quem** iure, **quem** loco, **quem** tempore, **quem** impune non est ausus, **hunc** iniuria, iniquo loco, alieno tempore, periculo capitis non dubitavit occidere? Cic., Mil., 16, 42.

Quo tempore illum a quaestione ad nullum aliud rei publicae munus abduci licebat, **eo tempore** ad quaestionem ipse abreptus est. Cic., Clu., 33, 89.

Itaque **quom** spolia victae Carthagini **detrahebantur**, quom inermem iam ac nudam destitui inter tot armatas gentes Africae cerneretis, nemo ingemuit; **nunc**, quia tributum ex privato conferendum est, tamquam in publico funere comploratis. Liv., 30, 44, 10-11.

Quom in acie stare ac pugnare **decuer[a]t**, **tum** in castra refugerunt; **quom** pro vallo **pugnandum erat**, castra tradiderunt, neque in acie neque in castris utiles. Et vos redimam? **Quom** erumpere castris **oportet**, cunctamini ac manetis: **quom** manere, castra tutari armis necesse **est**, et castra et arma et vos ipsos traditis hosti. Liv., 22, 60, 25-26. (*Decuerat* Madvig and Weissenborn. Cdd. *decuerit*, except one, which has *decreverit*.)

Quom bellis Karthaginiensibus Sicilia **vexata est** et post nostra patrumque memoria **quom** bis in ea provincia magnae fugitivorum copiae **versatae sunt**, **tamen** aratorum interitio facta nulla est: tum sementi prohibita aut messe amissa fructus annuus interibat; tamen incolumis numerus manebat dominorum atque aratorum. Cic., Verr., 3, 54, 125.

Quom ea **consecutus** nondum eram, quae sunt hominum opinionibus amplissima, **tamen** ista vestra nomina numquam sum admiratus. Cic., Fam., 3, 7, 5. (*In*

Expression of a causal or adversative relation, or of a situation with or without such relation, through the subjunctive.

Qui chirographa Caesaris **defendisset** lucri sua causa, **is** leges Caesaris . . . evertit. Cic., Phil., 2, 42, 109.

Sed **quom**, fessis pugnando hostibus, tum victoria laetis et ipsis plerisque regressis in castra sua, noctem ad erumpendum liberam **habuissent**, . . . neque per se ipsi id facere conati sunt, neque alium sequi voluerunt. Liv., 22, 60, 9.

Maximas privatas et publicas calamitates accepistis: **quom** etiam maiores impendere **videantur**, sedetis et auspicamini: luci noctem, nocte lucem expectatis. Cornific., 4, 36, 48.

Sed **quom** iam honores et illa senior auctoritas gravius quiddam **requireret**, remanebat idem nec decebat idem. Cic., Brut., 95, 327.

the days when I had not yet won the things which men hold highest, I had, nevertheless, no awe of these fine names you mention)

Quom iste, vestra severitate permotus, multa signa **dederat**, quam ob rem responsurus non videretur, mentio de lege nulla fiebat: postea quam iste recreari et confirmari visus est, lex statim promulgata est. Cic., Verr., 5, 69, 178.

Quae si de uno me cogitasset, quam mollitia sum animi ac lenitate, numquam mehercule illius lacrimis ac precibus restitissim; sed **quom** mihi patriae, **quom** vestrorum periculorum, **quom** huius urbis, **quom** illorum delubrorum atque templorum, **quom** puerorum infantium, **quom** matronarum ac virginum **veniebat** in mentem, et **quom** illae infestae ac funestae faces universumque totius urbis incendium, **quom** tela, **quom** caedes, **quom** civium cruor, **quom** cinis patriae versari ante oculos atque animum memoria refricare **coeperat**, tum denique ei resistebam. Cic., Sull., 6, 19.

With the support of this example, I am inclined to put the next following under the same category, rather than under the head of survivals of the older narrative clause.

Non tibi, quamvis infesto animo et minaci perveneras, ingredienti fines ira cecidit? non, **quom** in conspectu Roma **fuit**, succurrit "intra illa moenia domus ac penates mei sunt, coniunx liberique." Livy, 2, 40, 7. (*Take the time when* you entered the Roman boundaries: did not your anger fall *then*? *Take* — still stronger — *the time when* Rome came in sight: did not the thought *then* occur to you?)

In re est item ridiculum, quod ex quadam depravata imitatione sumi solet, ut idem Crassus: 'per tuam nobilitatem, per vestram familiam!' Quid aliud fuit, nisi illa voltus et vocis imitatio? 'Per

Quis angusta malis **quom** moenia **vexarentur**,

Ipsae suum Theseus pro caris corpus
Athenis

Proicere optavit potius quam talia Cretam
Funera Cecropiae nec funera portarentur.
Catull., 64, 80-3.

Quom divina tua mens et numen, imperator Caesar, imperio **potiretur** orbis terrarum invictaque virtute cunctis hostibus stratis triumpho victoriaeque tuae cives **gloriarentur** et gentes omnes subactae tuum **spectarent** nutum, populusque Romanus et senatus liberatus timore amplissimis tuis cogitationibus consiliisque **gubernaretur** non audebam, **tantis occupationibus**, de architectura scripta et magnis cogitationibus explicata edere, metuens ne non apto tempore interpellans subirem tui animi offensionem. Vitruv., 1, 1.

tuas statuas' vero **quom dixit** et extento brachio paululum etiam de gestu **addidit**, vehementur risimus. Cic., de Or., 2, 59, 242.

Quid? privato Milone et reo ad populum accusante P. Clodio, **quom** in Cn. Pompeium pro Milone dicentem impetus factus **est**, **quae** tum non modo **occasio**, sed etiam **causa** illius opprimendi fuit? (Continuation opposite.)

At **quom** in Aiakis navim 'crispisulcans igneum flumen' **iniectum est**, inflammatur navis **necessario**. Cic., Top., 16, 61.

Nostra memoria victor Sulla **quom** Damasippum et alios eius modi, qui malo rei publicae creverant, iugulari **iussit**, quis non factum eius laudabat? Sall., Cat., 51, 32.

Nuper vero **quom** M. Antonius summam spem salutis bonis omnibus **attulisset** gravissimamque adulescens nobilissimus rei publicae partem fortissime **suscepisset**, atque illam beluam, iudicii laqueos declinantem, iam inretitam **teneret**, **qui locus**, **quod tempus** illud, di immortales, fuit! Cic., Mil., 15, 40.

Quom se ille fugiens in scalarum tenebris **abdidisset**, magnum Miloni fuit conficere illam pestem nulla sua invidia, M. vero Antonii maxima gloria? Cic., Mil., 15, 40. (Follows passage next above.)

Similarly Cic., Div., 143, 98, *quom sudavit, etc.*; 1, 43, 97, *quom visum est* (in combination with the ordinary subjunctive narrative clause); Sull., 17, 49, *quom agebantur*; Manil., 1, 2, *quom renuntiatus sum* (borders on category next following); Fam., 5, 21, 2, *quom sensi*; Verr., 2, 11, 29, *quom invitabas, etc.*; Pis., 13, 31, *quom proficiscebamini*; Liv., 22, 14, 12, *quom sub iugum missi sumus*.

It is evident that this indicative construction of reserved meaning coincides in form with the archaic narrative construction, and one must occasionally be in doubt under which head to class a given case. It will assist if one remembers that in the construction of reserved meaning the event cited must be already known to the hearer.

VII. Identification (expression of the equivalency) of two acts through an identification of the actors (*qui*) or the times (*quom*) versus (a) the justification of the main statement through the use of the causal subjunctive, or (b) the clause of situation.¹

Identification of Acts.

Supplicationem modo **qui decrevit**, **idem** imprudens hostis **iudicavit**; numquam enim in civili bello supplicatio decreta est. Cic., Phil., 14, 8, 22.

Errastis vehementer, **qui sperastis** vos contra consulem popularem in ever-tenda republica populares existimari. Cic., L. Agr., 1, 7, 23. (You were wrong in *hoping*, — your hoping was an error.) Similarly Martial., 1, 66, 2.

Quo enim ille **die**, populo Romano inspectante, nudus, unctus, ebrius **est contionatus** et id egit, ut conlegae diadema imponeret, **eo die** se non modo consulatu, sed etiam libertate **abdica-vit**. Cic., Phil., 3, 5, 12.

Cui **quom** imperium **dabamus**, **eo-dem** tempore etiam spem eius nominis **deferebamus**. Cic., Phil., 14, 10, 28.

Id quom impetrabatur, hoc vide-licet **impetrabatur**, ut pro singulis decumis ternas decumas dare liceret. Cic., Verr., 3, 48, 115.

De te autem, Catilina, **quom** quies-cunt, **probant**; **quom** patiuntur, **de-cernunt**; **quom** tacent, **clamant**. Cic., Cat., 1, 8, 21. (Their acquiescence is approval.)

Quibus **quom** provocatio **datur**, nonne acta Caesaris **rescinduntur**? Cic., Phil., 1, 9, 23.

Malo: si enim illud diceres, improbe mentiri viderere: **quom** hoc **confiteris**, id te admisisse **concedis**, quod ne mendacio quidem tegere possis. Cic., Quinct., 26, 81.

Justification of Statement, or Clause of Situation.

Quod genus hoc militum sit, **iudica-vit** vir fortissimus M. Bibulus in Asia, **qui**, **quom** vos ei permisissetis, dilectum habere **noluerit**. Cic., Fam., 15, 1, 5.

Praeceptis amentia **ferebare**, **qui** te **existimares** avaritiae volnera crudeli-tatis remediis posse sanare. Cic., Verr., 5, 46, 121.

Quom idem omnino, quia nihil semper suo statu maneat, **neget** esse quicquam sempiternum, nonne deum omnino ita **tollit**, ut nullam opinionem eius reli-quam faciat? Cic., N. D., 1, 12, 29.

Quare **in utraque re** inique rescin-dere conantur analogiam, et **quom** in dissimili usu similia vocabula **quaerant** et **quom** item ea quae metimur atque ea quae numeramus dici **putent** oportere. Varro, L. L., 9, 67 (505 Sp.). (In both respects, namely, both *since* . . . and *since* . . .)

¹ The subject of identification in *quom*-clauses through the indicative was treated by Hoffmann in "Die Construction der lateinischen Zeitpartikeln,"² pp. 127-9, and the general subject has been treated, with the inclusion of other particles, by Hermann Lattmann, in "De Coincidentiae apud Ciceronem Vi atque Usu," Göttingen, 1888.

Qui **quom** hunc **accusant**, Naevium, Plautum, Ennium

Accusant, quos hic voster auctores habet.

Ter., And., Prol., 18-19.

The following should be compared with the second example under this category:

Errabas, Verres, et vehementer **errabas**, **quom** te maculas furtorum et flagitiorum tuorum sociorum innocentium sanguine eluere **arbitrabare**. Cic., Verr., 5, 46, 121. (You were wrong in thinking.)

Sustulisti hanc suspicionem, **quom dixisti** hunc, ut Catilinam consulem efficeret, contra patrem tuum operas et manum comparasse. Cic., Sull., 24, 68.

De luxuria **purgavit** Erucius **quom dixit** hunc ne in convivio quidem ullo fere interfuisse. Cic., Rosc. Am., 14, 39.

Declaravit quam odisset senatum, **quom** auctorem senatus extinctum laete atque insolenter **tulit**. Cic., Phil., 9, 3, 7.

Quom lex assiduo vindicem assiduum esse **iubeat**, locupletem **iubet** locupleti; locuples enim est assiduus, ut ait Aelius, appellatus ab aere dando. Cic., Top., 2, 10.

Itaque, Torquate, **quom** **diceret** clamare Epicurum non posse iucunde vivi, nisi honeste et sapienter et iuste viveretur, tu ipse mihi **gloriari videbare**. Cic., Fin., 2, 16, 51. (The other treatment, *quom dicebas*, in saying, would of course have been possible.)

Inconstantiam tuam **quom** levitate tum etiam periurio implicatam **refellisti**, **quom**, quem a te alienissimum esse dixisses, eum domi tuae fuisse . . . **dixeris**. Cic., Vatin., 1, 3.

Deinde **quom** se **iactaret** eodem modo dicere, Senecam **infamabat**. Quintil., 10, 1, 127.

Sed tamen illud scripsit disertissimus poëta pro me, **egit** fortissimus actor, non solum optimus, **de me**, **quom** omnis ordines **demonstraret**, senatum, equites Romanos, universum populum Romanum **accusaret**: 'exulare sinitis, sistis pelli, pulsum patimini.' Cic., Sest., 57, 122.

So far, the identifying force of the indicative construction is obvious. In the following it is more veiled:

Quom Collatino collegae Brutus imperium **abrogabat**, **poterat** videri facere **id** iniuste. Cic., Off., 3, 10, 40. (*In abrogating* his colleague's power, Brutus may seem to have acted unjustly. Observe that *id* sums up *quom* . . . *abrogabat*, just as, in the contrasting construction opposite, taken from the same passage, it sums up the narrative *quom* . . . *cepissent*.)

Qui **quom** ex vobis quaereret, si in uno Cn. Pompeio omnia poneretis, si quid eo factum esset, in quo spem essetis habituri, **cepit** magnum suae virtutis fructum ac dignitatis, **quom** omnes una prope

Fuerat enim in regibus expellendis socius Bruti consiliorum et adiutor; **quom** autem consilium hoc principes **cepissent**, cognationem Superbi nomenque Tarquiniorum et memoriam regni esse tollendum, . . . **id** erat ita honestum, ut . . . Cic., Off., 3, 10, 40. (Clause of the situation, following directly after the passage opposite.)

Facile **iudicabat** ipsa natura vim suam, **quom** homines, quod facere ipsi non possent, id recte fieri in altero **iudicarent**. Cic., Lael., 7, 24.

voce in [eo] ipso vos spem habituros esse **dixistis**. Cic., Manil., 20, 59.

Nunc contra et **vidisse** mihi **multum videris, quom** prope desperatis his rebus te in Graeciam **contulisti**, et hoc tempore non solum sapiens, qui hinc abis, sed etiam beatus. Cic., Fam., 7, 28, 1. Similarly Ac. Pr., 2, 5, 13.

Expectationem nobis non **parvam attuleras, quom scripseras** Varonem tibi pro amicitia confirmasse causam nostram Pompeium certe suscepturum. Cic., Att., 3, 18, 1. Similarly Sest., 16, 37.

Praeclare inquit **facis, quom** et eorum memoriam **tenes**, quorum uterque tibi testamento liberos suos commendavit, et puerum diligis. Cic., Fin., 3, 6, 9.¹

Huic igitur legi **paruit** Cassius, **quom est** in Syriam **profectus** . . . (*in going to Syria* . . .). Cic., Phil., 11, 12, 28.

Et primae **dederunt solacia** dulcia vitae **Quom** genuere virum tali cum corde repertum.

(*In giving birth to* . . .) Lucr., 6, 4-5.

O genus **infelix** humanum, talia divis **Quom** tribuit facta.

(*In attributing* . . .) Lucr., 5, 1194-5.

Ceteri senes, Fabricii Curii Coruncanii, **quom** rem publicam consilio et auctoritate **defendebant, nihil agebant?** Cic., Sen., 6, 15.

Torquatus is, qui consul cum Cn. Octavio fuit, **quom** illam severitatem in eo filio **adhibuit**, quem in adoptionem D. Silano emancipaverat, ut eum, Macedonum legatis accusantibus, quod pecunias praetorem in provincia cepisse arguerent, causam apud se dicere iuberet reque ex utraque parte audita pronuntiaret, eum non talem videri fuisse in imperio, quales eius maiores fuissent, et in conspectum

Voluptatem **quom** summum bonum **diceret**, primum in eo ipso **parum vidit**, deinde hoc quoque alienum. . . Cic., Fin., 1, 8, 26.

Iucunda mihi eius **oratio fuit, quom** de animo tuo, de sermonibus quos de me haberes quotidie, mihi **narraret**. Cic., Fam., 3, 1, 2.

Libidine sanguinis et hiatu praemiorum ignotum adhuc ingenium et nullis defensionibus expertum caede nobili **inbuisti, quom** ex funere rei publicae raptis consularibus spoliis septuagiens sestertio saginatus et sacerdotio fulgens innoxios pueros, inlustres senes, conspicuas feminas eadem ruina **prosterneres, quom** segnitiam Neronis **incusares** quod. . . Tac., Hist., 4, 42.

Etenim qua stultitia fuisset, si, quam diem, qui istum eripiendum redemerunt, **in cautione viderunt, quom** ita **caverent**, si post Kalendas Ian. in consilium iretur, in eam diem ego, quom potuissem vitare, incidissem. Cic., Verr., 1, 11, 31.

¹ Zimmermann, I suspect, would derive the construction in such examples from the old explicative use of *quom*, and would place them under Category X. And conversely, though I agree with him in the main tenet of the essay already cited, I should derive from the true temporal use of *quom* some of the examples which he derives from the explicative use.

suum venire vetuit, num quid tibi **vide-**
tur de voluptatibus suis **cogitavisse?**

Cic., Fin., 1, 7, 24.

Aliud, inquam, est dolere, aliud labo-
rare. **Quom** varices **secabantur** C.
Mario, **dolebat**; **quom** aestu magno
ducebat agmen, **laborabat**. Cic.,
Tusc., 2, 15, 35. (The one was pain, the
other toil.¹)

At vero C. Marius, rusticanus vir, sed
plane vir, **quom** **secaretur**, ut supra
dixi, principio vetuit se adligari; nec
quisquam ante Marium solutus dicitur
esse sectus. Cic., Tusc., 2, 22, 53.
(Clause of situation.)

The *quom*-clause in the following passage from Virgil would seem to be best taken as a strongly rhetorical use of the present construction of the indicative :

Di patrii, quorum semper sub numine
Troia est,
Non tamen omnino Teucros delere
paratis,
Quom tales animos iuvenum, et tam
certa **tulistis**
Pectora. Verg., Aen., 9, 247-250.

(*Tales animos tulisse non est parare*,
etc. The idea of the second assertion's
containing the proof of the first is there-
fore conveyed, but only indirectly. Com-
pare also *dederunt solacia quom genuere*
in the first passage from Lucretius
above.)

Cum hoc Pompeius . . . **vehemen-**
ter egit, **quom** **diceret** in summa se
perfidiae et sceleris infamia fore, si mihi
periculum crearetur. Cic., Att., 2, 22, 2.

Where the idea of the equivalency of two actions is a simple and natural one, I should judge the indicative to be the habitual mode. I have, indeed, had difficulty in finding the few contrast-
ing subjunctive examples here presented.²

¹ Not rightly classed by Roby, it seems to me, as an example of "cases frequently recurring" (§ 1717).

² Modern Latin is often over-venturesome in using the very rare subjunctive in place of the indicative in this idiom, as in the following: "Primus autem in eo offendit C. F. W. Muellerus **quom** **dicat**: dies is die einzige Stelle, wo sive = oder überliefert ist." Reiter, "Quaestiones Varronianae Grammaticae." Cf. Cicero's *errabas quom arbitrabare, quom hoc confiteris concedis, purgavit quom dixit*, etc., cited above.

VIII. Generalization versus the expression of the quality of a given person or thing (*qui*), or time (*quom*); in the case of the generalizing clause, usually with causal or adversative bearing.

General assumption of a quality of a person, thing, or time (general case).

Quemcumque equitem Romanum in provincia **viderant**, beneficiis ac liberalitate prosequabantur. Cic., Verr., 3, 41, 94.

Habebat hoc omnino Caesar: **quem** plane **perditum** aere alieno egentemque, si eundem nequam hominem audacemque **cognorat**, **hunc** in familiaritatem libentissime recipiebat. Cic., Phil., 2, 32, 79.

At enim, **quom** permagna praemia **sunt**, est causa peccandi. Cic., Off., 3, 20, 79.

Nam libero tempore, **quom** soluta nobis **est** eligendi optio, **quomque** nihil **impedit** quo minus id quod maxime placeat facere possimus, omnis voluptas adsumenda est, omnis dolor depellendus. Cic., Fin., 1, 10, 33.

Nihil est, quod credere de se Non possit, **quom** **laudatur** dis aequa potestas.

Iuv., 3, 72. (*Quom = when, in case that.*)

Acuto etiam ingenio et sermone elegant, valetudine incommoda C. Sextius Calvinus fuit; qui etsi, **quom** **remiserant** dolores pedum, non deerat in causis, tamen id non saepe faciebat; itaque consilio eius, **quom** **volebant**, homines utebantur, patrocini, **quom** **licebat**. Cic., Brut., 34, 130.

Nam **quom** hostium copiae non longe **absunt**, etiam si inruptio nulla facta est, **tamen** pecuaria relinquitur, agri cultura deseritur, mercatorum navigatio con-
quiescit. Cic., Manil., 6, 15.

Statement of a quality of a person, thing, or time (situation), or statement of a cause (individual case).

Habetis **eum** consulem **qui** et parere vestris decretis non **dubitet** et ea, quae statueritis, defendere et per se ipsum praestare **possit**. Cic., Cat., 4, 11, 24.

C. Marius **quom** a spe consulatus longe **abesset** et iam septimum annum post praeturam **iaceret** neque petiturus umquam consulatum **videretur**, Q. Metellum, cuius legatus erat . . . apud populum Romanum criminatus est bellum illum ducere. (Follows directly after the passage opposite, and is the particular application of that generalization.)

Silent enim leges inter arma nec se exspectari iubent, **quom** ei, qui exspectare velit, ante iniusta poena luenda **sit** quam iusta repetenda. Cic., Mil., 4, 11. (. . . *for the reason that* . . .)

Sic natura iubet: velocius et citius nos Corrupunt vitiorum exempla domestica, magnis

Quom subeant animos auctoribus.

Iuv., 14, 31-3. (*Quom = since.*)

Quom anceps diu pugna **esset**, Hannibal elephantos in primam aciem induci iussit. Liv., 27, 14, 5-6.

Nam **quom** id **posset** infitiri, repente praeter opinionem omnium confessus est. Cic., Cat., 3, 5, 11.

In quo scelere, iudices, **etiam quom** multae causae convenisse unum in locum atque inter se congruere **videntur**, **tamen** non temere creditur. Cic., Rosc. Am., 22, 62.

Itaque saucii saepe homines **quom** corpore **debilitantur**, **animo tamen** non cedunt, neque eum relinquunt locum, quem statuerunt defendere. Cic., Caec., 15, 42.

Iam qui incolunt eas urbis, non haerent in suis sedibus, sed volucris semper spe et cogitatione rapiuntur a domo longius, atque **etiam quom** **manent** corpore, **animo tamen** exsulant et vagantur. Cic., Rep., 2, 4, 7.

Vide quanta caritas sit patriae : **quom** homini **sit** iratus, **tamen** rei publicae causa defendit Antonius. Cic., Phil., 8, 6, 18.

Illi, **quom** res non bonas **tractent**, similes bonorum videri volunt. Cic., Ac., Pr., 2, 23, 72.

In most of the indicative cases above, the reader clearly recognizes an assumption, and feels that, without that assumption, the conclusion has no existence. In the last two examples, however, the *quom*-clause, though taking the same grammatical form, is of slighter consequence. The main verb could stand without it. It therefore occupies the position of an *assumed accompanying circumstance*, making against the main act.

The case that follows would seem to be of the same nature, with the (grammatically unimportant) difference that the accompanying circumstance makes *for* the main act. Ernesti therefore seems to me wrong in emending the *possunt* of the codd. to *possint*; and Madvig seems fortunate in having kept *possunt* in the text, though expressing himself in the notes as inclined to follow Ernesti. Yet I should add that C. F. W. Müller accepts the emendation.

Nec vero intermittunt aut admirationem earum rerum, quae sunt ab antiquis repertae, aut investigationem novarum; quo studio **quom** satiari non **possunt**, omnium ceterarum rerum obliti nihil abiectum, nihil humile cogitant. Cic., Fin., 5, 20, 57.

Tuba ac cornua, signa **quom** **dent**, canere dicuntur. Varro, L. L., 5, 99. (. . . *for the reason that*. . .)

The statement made against Lübbert's use of Plaut., Stich., 123 (see p. 53 of Part I. of this study), has now been substantiated, and the ground of the use of the indicative has been shown. In consequence, six of the examples which Lübbert cites from Plautus as cases of the old indicative adversative use (see p. 122 of his study) must be withdrawn from that category,

as in harmony with the regular usage of Cicero in generalizing clauses. And a similar correction must be made in § 570 of Draeger's "Historische Syntax der lateinischen Sprache," in which, after Lübbert, Draeger wrongly cites the following example (among a number of correct ones) as illustrating the old construction :

Qui cavet ne decipiatur, vix cavet, **quom** etiam **cavet**.

Plaut., Capt., 255.

A variant upon the generalizing clause is an assumption generalizing in form, but having its point in its application to a particular individual person or thing (*qui*) or time (*quom*) which is in the speaker's mind:

Individual application of a generalization.

Quid, si ne potest quidem ulla esse pax? Quae enim est condicio pacis, in **qua** ei, cum quo pacem facias, nihil concedi **potest**? Cic., Phil., 12, 5, 11. (The generalizing character of the passage appears in the mode of *potest* and of *facias*, but the application is to Antony.)

Beatus est nemo, **qui** ea lege **vivit**, ut non modo impune, sed etiam cum summa interfectoris gloria interfici possit. Cic., Phil., 1, 14, 35. (Application to Antony.)

Atqui si tempus est ullum iure hominis necandi, quae multa sunt, certe illud est non modo iustum, verum etiam necessarium, **quom** vi vis inlata **defenditur**. Cic., Mil., 4, 9. (Application to Milo's case.)

Quod si probari nemini potest, illud certe probari omnibus necesse est, defensum esse iudicio absentem Quinctium: quod **quom** ita **est**, ex edicto bona pos- sessa non sunt. Cic., Quinct., 20, 65. (*When, as in the present case . . .*)

Quid domini faciant, **audent quom** talia fures?

Verg., Ecl., 3, 16.

Quid sapiens faciet, stultus **quom** munere **gaudet**?

Ovid, A. A., 3, 655.

Ground, etc., of an individual judgment.

An hoc negare potes, **qui** omnis moras **interponas**, quibus infirmetur Brutus, melior fiat Antonius? Cic., Phil., 8, 6, 17.

Tarquinio vero quid inpudentius, **qui** bellum **gereret** cum iis, qui eius non tulerant superbiam? Cic., Tusc., 3, 12, 27.

Quod ius statues COMMVNI DIVIDVND0, **quom** commune nihil **possit** esse apud eos, qui omnia voluptate sua metiuntur? Cic., Fam., 7, 12, 2.

Iam tum mihi non placebas, cum idem tuebare, quod Zeius familiaris meus. Sed quonam modo ius civile defendes, **quom** omnia tua causa **facias**, non civium? Cic., Fam., 7, 12, 2.

Quid facient crines, **quom** ferro talia **cedant**?

Catull., 66, 47.

Quomodo autem tibi placebit Iovem Lapidem iurari, **quom** **scias** Iovem iratum esse nemini posse? Cic., Fam., 7, 12, 2.

Quid agas, **quom** dira et foedior omni Crimine persona **est**?

Iuv., 4, 15. (Compare the occasional use of English *if* in similar cases, even though there is no doubt of the fact.)

In rebus minoribus socium fallere turpissimum est aequaeque turpe atque illud, de quo ante dixi; neque iniuria, propterea quod auxilium sibi se putat adiunxisse, qui cum altero rem communicavit. Ad cuius igitur fidem confugiet, **quom** per eius fidem **laeditur**, cui se commiserit? Cic., Rosc. Am., 40, 116. (The generalizing form continues for some eight lines more, after which an *a fortiori* application follows.)

The usage seems to have grown into a fixed construction, which may be compared with the causal use of *si quidem*. The form is that of assumption, the effect that of predication. In this way one may explain phrases like the common *quom recordor* (= *when—as now—I reflect*), and also extreme cases like the following:

Supplet enim iste nescio qui et privatum dicit se dedisse. Hoc vero ferri nullo modo potest. Qui de tabulis publicis recitat iis, quae in accusatoris potestate fuerunt, non debet habere auctoritatem; sed tamen iudicium fieri videtur, **quom** tabulae illae ipsae, cuicumodi sunt, **proferuntur**. **Quom** vero is, quem nemo vestrum vidit umquam, nemo, qui mortalis esset, audivit, tantum **dicat**: "Dedi," dubitabitis, iudices, quin ab hoc ignotissimo Phryge nobilissimum civem vindicetis? Cic., Flacc., 17, 40.

Quid? **quom** ceteri non modo post civitatem datam, sed etiam post legem Papiam aliquo modo in eorum municipiarum tabulas **inrepserunt**, hic, qui ne utitur quidem illis, in quibus est scriptus, quod semper se Heracliensem esse voluit, reicietur? Cic., Arch., 5, 10.

Quid faceres pro innocente homine et propinquo, **quom** propter hominem perditissimum atque alienissimum de officio ac dignitate **decidis** et **com-**

Sed quid damnatio confert,
Quom Pansa **eripiat**, quidquid tibi
Natta reliquit?

Iuv., 8, 94-5.

Quom igitur tanta vis iustitiae **sit**, ut ea etiam latronum opes firmet atque augeat, quantam eius vim inter leges et iudicia et in constituta re publica fore putamus? Cic., Off., 2, 11, 40.

Quisquam, vivere **quom** **sciat**, moratur?

Martial., 5, 20, 14.

An tu, **quom** omnem auctoritatem universi ordinis pro pignore **putaris** eamque in conspectu populi Romani **concideris** me his existimas pignoribus terreri? Crass., ap. Cic., de Or., 3, 1, 4.

Potestne tibi ulla spes salutis commoda ostendi, **quom** **recordaris** in deos immortalis quam impius quam sceleratus, quam nefarius fueris? Cic., Verr., 1, 18, 47.

mittis, ut, quod ille dictitat, alicui, qui te ignoret, verum esse videatur. Cic., Verr., Act. Pr., 10, 28.

Ego te, **quom** in Massilienses tam es acerbus, Q. Fufi, non animo aequo audio. Cic., Phil., 8, 6, 18. (. . . I have no patience to listen, when you express yourself in this bitter way about the people of Marseilles.)

Ferri potes dominam salvis tot restibus ullam,

Quom pateant altae caligantesque fenestrae,

Quom tibi vicinum se **praebeat** Aemilius pons?

Iuv., 6, 30-2.

The following examples exhibit the *qui*- and *quom*-constructions in the same sentence:

Nam concordiam civium qui habere potest, nullam **quom** habet civitatem? Pacis vero quae potest esse cum **eo** ratio, in **quo** est incredibilis crudelitas, fides nulla? Cic., Phil., 4, 6, 15.

Etenim si **is**, **qui** non **defendit** iniuriam neque **propulsat**, **quom** potest, iniuste facit, ut in primo libro disserui, qualis habendus est **is**, **qui** non modo non **repellit**, sed etiam **adiuvat** iniuriam? Cic., Off., 3, 18, 74.

In the corresponding category of *qui*-clauses in Chapter III. we found that, though the habitual mode in the generalizing clause, even after indefinite or negative antecedents, is the indicative, yet the association of the subjunctive mode with such antecedents is so strong that the latter mode occasionally makes inroads upon the proper field of the indicative assumption. I cite again a pair of examples:

Nihilque ab eo **praetermissum** est, **quod** aut pro re publica conquerendum **fuit** aut pro reo disputandum. Cic., Sest., 2, 3.

Dividebat acute, **nec praetermittebat** fere **quicquam**, **quod** esset in causa aut ad confirmandum aut ad refellendum. Cic., Brut., 88, 303.

One would equally expect that the association of the idea of cause or hindrance with the subjunctive *quom*-clause would lead to the occasional use of that mode even where the cause or hindrance is a recurring one, and ought, therefore, to take the form of a generalizing assumption, as follows:

Generalizing assumption of a cause or hindrance.

Expression of the idea of a cause or hindrance, though general, in consequence of the association of the subjunctive with these ideas.

Sed alia sunt maiora multo, fides, officium, diligentia, quibus rebus adducti,

Nec tamen nostrae nobis utilitates omittendae sunt aliisque tradendae,

etiam quom alienissimos **defendimus**, **tamen** eos alienos, si ipsi viri boni volumus haberi, existimare non possumus. Cic., De Or., 2, 46, 192.

quom iis ipsi **egeamus**, sed suae cuique utilitati, quod sine alterius iniuria fiat, serviendum est. Cic., Off., 3, 10, 42. (*When, and in spite of the fact that we ourselves need them . . .*)

Saepe, ut fit, quom ipse te confirmasses, quom statuisses mentionem de pecunia facere, quom paratus meditatique venisses, homo timidus, virginali verecundia, subito ipse te retinebas; excidebat repente oratio; **quom cuperes** appellare, non audebas, ne invitus audiret. Cic., Quinct., 11, 39.

This general position—whatever view might be taken of individual cases—would not be likely to be assailed. Wherever the causal or adversative idea clearly exists, grammarians would regard the subjunctive as sufficiently explained by that fact, even though the cause or hindrance were a recurring one.

But if it be granted that the presence of an idea ordinarily expressed by the subjunctive is capable of bringing about the use of the mode, against the common usage, in a recurring case, then it is to be expected that the subjunctive of the *situation* will likewise occasionally be met with, even where the situation is a recurring one. The last passage to the right exhibits three examples of this kind, as well as the example *quom cuperes*, namely *quom confirmasses*, *quom statuisses*, *quom venisses*.

There are in fact circumstances which make it extremely probable that such an extension of the subjunctive construction of situation from the individual case to the repeated case would take place. Certain constructions frequently occur which, though involving the idea of repetition, yet could not possibly give up their subjunctive coloring. One class of these is illustrated in *saepe audiivi eum quom diceret*, . . . *saepe accusavit quom adfirmaret*, . . . *cotidie meam potentiam criminabatur quom diceret*, . . . *solebam dimittere Scaevolam quom dicerem*, . . . *numquam conspectus est quom veniret*,—a construction very frequently occurring. A somewhat different class is illustrated in the following: *Etiam illud saepe intelleximus, quom essemus eius domi, quod vel pueri sentire poteramus, illum et Gracce sic loqui, nullam ut nosse aliam linguam vidcretur, et . . .* Cic.,

De Or., 2, 1, 2. A third class, which is illustrated by the following, is closely connected with the second, and yet brings us to the very borders of the construction of repeated action: *In historia, qua tu es usus in omni sermone, quom qualis quisque orator fuisset exponeres, vide, quaeso, inquit, ne tam reprehendenda sit ironia quam in testimonio*, Cic., Brut., 85, 292. Such uses, even apart from any other influence, would tend finally to break down the distinction of construction between the individual situation and the repeated situation. If, with this particular tendency in view, we also bear in mind the general tendency of the Latin language, after reaching its perfection as an instrument of expression, to obliterate distinctions (as in the case of *quamquam* and *quavis*), we shall not be surprised to find a considerable number of subjunctives in *quom*-clauses of repeated situation, even in the literature of Cicero's time.

Generalizing assumption of a situation.

Et virum bonum **quom** laudabant, ita laudabant, bonum agricolam bonumque colonum. Cato, R. R., 1, 2.

Et tum mirifice **sperabat** se esse locutum,

Quom, quantum poterat, **dixerat** hincsidias.

Catull., 84, 1-4.

Saepe etiam in eam partem ferebatur oratione, ut omnino disputaret nullam artem esse dicendi; idque **quom** argumentis **docuerat**, . . . tum etiam exemplorum copia nitebatur. Cic., de Or., 1, 20, 90.

Characterization of a situation, though general, in consequence of the association of the subjunctive with the characterizing idea.

Praeterea salsamentorum in eas piscinas emptum coiciebat, **quom** mare **turbaret** ac per tempestatem macellum piscinarum [mare] obsonium **praeberet**, neque everriculo in litus educere **possent** vivam saginam, plebeiae cenae piscis. Varro, R. R. 3, 17, 7.

Saepe pater divom templo in fulgente revisens

Annua **quom** festis **venissent** sacra diebus,

Conspexit terra centum procumbere tauros.

Catull., 64, 387-90.¹

Saepe, ut fit, **quom** ipse te **confirmasses**, **quom** statuisses mentionem de pecunia facere, **quom** paratus meditatusque **venisses**, homo timidus, virginali verecundia, subito ipse te retinebas; excidebat repente oratio; quom cuperes appellare, non audebas, ne invitus audiret. Cic., Quinct., 11, 39.

¹ The construction *quom . . . acciperent* directly following these verses seems to be rather a *completing* clause of the situation, and is cited under that heading on p. 192.

. . . Chelidonis: a qua muliere **quom** erat ad eum **ventum** et in aurem eius insusurratum, alias revocabat eos, inter quos iam decreverat, decretumque mutabat, alias inter aliquos contrarium sine ulla religione decernebat ac proximis paulo ante decreverat. Cic., Verr., 1, 46, 120.

Hinc nimirum, **quom** ad gubernacula rei publicae temerarii atque audaces homines **accesserant**, maxima ac miserrima naufragia fiebant. Cic., Inv., 1, 3, 4.

Neque vero **quom** aliquid **mandarat**, confectum putabat. Cic., Cat., 3, 7, 16.

Antea, **quom** erat a tribuno plebis mentio legis agrariae facta, continuo, qui agros publicos aut [qui] possessiones invidiosas tenebant, pertimescebant. Cic., Leg. Agr., 26, 68.

Itaque ut ego, **quom** a nostro Catone **laudabar**, vel reprehendi me a ceteris facile patiebar, sic Isocrates videtur testimonio Platonis aliorum iudicia debere contemnere. Cic., Or., 13, 41.

Emergebat subito, **quom** sub tabulas **subrepserat**, ut "mater, te appello" dicturus videretur. Cic., Sest., 59, 126.

Quom clauserat, in the passage opposite.

Quom vero commendare paupertatem **coeperat** et ostendere, quam quidquid usum excederet esset supervacuum et grave ferenti, saepe exire e schola pauperi libuit. Sen., Ep., 108, 14.

Non modo oppidum nullum, sed ne domus quidem ulla paulo locupletior expers huius iniuria reperietur; qui **quom** in convivium **venisset**, si quicquam caelati aspexerat, manus abstinere, iudices, non poterat. Cic., Verr., 4, 22, 48. (Note *si aspexerat*.)

Sed dies me deficiet, et, ut A. Varius, qui est habitus iudex durior, dicere consessori solebat, **quom** datis testibus alii tamen **citarentur**, "aut hoc testium satis est aut nescio, quid satis sit," sic a me satis datum est testium. Cic., Fin., 2, 19, 62.

Tum Brutus "quid tu" inquit "quaeris alios? de te ipso nonne quid optarent rei, quid ipse Hortensius iudicaret, videbamus? qui **quom** **partiretur** tecum causas, — saepe enim interfui —, perorandi locum, ubi plurimum pollet oratio, semper tibi relinquebat." Cic., Brut., 51, 190.

Antea, **quom** hostem ac bellum **nominassem**, semel et saepius sententiam meam de numero sententiarum sustulerunt. Cic., Phil., 14, 8, 22.

Semperque huic generi, **quom** plebes publica calamitate impendiis debilitate **deficeret**, salutis omnium causa aliqua sublevatio et medicina quaesitast. Cic., Rep., 2, 34, 59.

Quomque duas uxores haberet, Aristomachen, civem suam, Doridem autem Locrensem, sic noctu ad eas ventitabat, ut omnia specularetur ante; et **quom** fossam latam cubiculari lecto **circumdedisset** eiusque fossae transitum ponticulo ligneo **coniunxisset**, eum ipse, **quom** forem cubiculi clauserat, detorquebat. Cic., Tusc., 5, 20, 59.

Ius enim semper est quaesitum aequabile; neque enim aliter esset ius: id si ab uno iusto et bono viro consequerentur, erant eo contenti; **quom** id minus **contingeret**, leges sunt inventae, quae cum omnibus semper una atque eadem voce loqueretur. Cic., Off., 2, 12, 42. (*Si consequerentur, etc.*, seems to make it

Itaque in inferendis litibus adesse solebant qui aliquid de se verebantur, et, **quom erant** appellati, si videbatur, statim contra dicere solebant; sin eius temporis recentem invidiam pertimuerant, respondebant postea :

Cuius etiam focum Cato ille noster, **quom venerat** ad se in Sabinos, ut ex ipso audiebamus, visere solebat. Cic., Rep., 3, 28 40.

Ille erat in tribunali proximus, in cubiculo solus, in convivio dominus, ac tum maxime, **quom** accubante praetextato praetoris filio in convivio saltare nudus **coeperat**. Cic., Verr., 3, 9, 23.

Sic confecto itinere, **quom** ad aliquod oppidum **venerat**, eadem lectica usque in cubiculum deferebatur. Cic., Verr., 5, 11, 27.

Ibi **quom** palam eius anuli ad palmam **converterat**, a nullo videbatur, ipse autem omnia videbat; idem rursus videbatur, **quom** in locum anulum **invererat**. Cic., Off., 3, 9, 38.

clear that *quom contingeret* has reference to repeated cases, the outcome of which is *summarized* in the perfect *sunt inventae*. Compare the perfect *libuit* in the passage opposite, which is itself followed presently by *libebat*.)

quod **quom fecisset**, permulti saepe vicerunt. Cic., Rab. Post., 4, 10. (Continuation of passage opposite.)

Equidem **quom peterem** magistratum, solebam in prensando dimittere a me Scaevolam, quom ita ei dicerem, me velle esse ineptum. Cic., De Or., 1, 24, 112.

Erat summa gravitas, erat cum gravitate iunctus facetiarum et urbanitatis oratorius, non scurrilis lepos, Latine loquendi adcurata et sine molestia diligens elegantia, in disserendo mira explicatio, **quom** de iure civili, **quom** de aequo et bono **disputaretur**. Cic., Brut., 38, 143.

Erat enim Athenis reo damnato, si fraus capitalis non esset, quasi poenae aestimatio; et sententia **quom** iudicibus **daretur**, interrogabatur reus, quam [quasi aestimationem] commeruisse se maxime confiteretur. Cic., De Or., 1, 54, 232.

Idcirco omnibus rebus agendis "quod bonum faustum felix fortunatumque esset" praefabantur, rebusque divinis quae publice fierent, ut "faverent linguis" imperabatur, iisque feriis imperandis, ut "litibus et iurgiis se abstinerent." Itemque in lustranda colonia ab eo qui eam deduceret, et **quom** imperator exercitum, censor populum **lustraret**, bonis nominibus, qui hostias ducerent, eligebantur. Cic., Div., 1, 45, 102.

These fifteen passages in the right-hand column yield twenty examples, sixteen of which are from Cicero. They are the results of random reading, and I have no doubt that a methodical search would discover many more.

To these examples should be added seven in the following passages from Caesar (collected in Munsel's *Lexicon*): B. G., 1, 25, 3; 2, 20, 1; 7, 16, 3; 7, 35, 1; B. C., 2, 41, 6; 3, 47, 7; 3, 48, 2.

An important line of inquiry, which I can merely sketch, is suggested by these examples. For such an inquiry, it would be necessary to have exact statistics from Caesar and Cicero of all the cases of the subjunctive commonly called "of repeated action," and of all the cases of the indicative; and these not for *quom* alone, but for *ubi*, *ut*, *si*, and *qui* as well. The imperfect statistics which I am able to present from Caesar will serve to illustrate the course of the inquiry.

Caesar uses the indicative "of repeated action" in secondary tenses with *quom* in the following ten places: B. G., 3, 14, 6; 3, 15, 1; 4, 17, 4-5; 5, 19, 2; 5, 35, 1; 5, 35, 3-4; 7, 22, 2; B. C., 1, 58, 2; 1, 79, 2-3; 3, 44, 6. There are then seven cases of the subjunctive with *quom*, and only ten cases of the indicative. These figures are taken from Munsel's *Lexicon*, and may be trusted. For *ubi* and *ut* I have the negative test that none of the subjunctives after these particles cited by Merguet belongs under this head. For *si* I have no better results than that I have noted only two cases, — B. G., 5, 35, 4, and B. C., 3, 110, 4. Yet I think it may be safely supposed, for the exhibition of the course which the argument would probably take, that the percentage of subjunctive cases is much lower with *si* than with *quom*, and that with *ubi* and *ut* no cases occur. Now this state of affairs, so different from that in Livy and later writers, seems to indicate that the change in the mode in clauses of repeated action was originally due to some peculiarity of the *quom*-clause itself; else why not a respectable percentage of cases with *si*, *ubi*, and *ut*? And when this consideration is put with the consideration that the idea of the situation would very naturally influence the construction of the generalizing clause, just as the idea of cause or hindrance undeniably did, we may regard it as at least a promising hypothesis that the subjunctive of repeated action began in the *quom*-clauses as a simple extension of the ordinary use of the clause of situation, and then, with the association of the mode with the idea of repetition, spread to clauses with other connectives.

I confess that the hypothesis here suggested, if fuller statistics should prove to bear it out, as they promise to do, would seem to me much more satisfactory than the explanation that the subjunctive in the generalizing clause is "potential," or than the explanation that it is due to Greek influence. There is no doubt, I think, that grammarians have underrated the part which the inferable old pure potential plays in dependent clauses in the developed language. But at the same time the pure potential was incontestably a dying force, not one that could suddenly break out afresh and make capture of a great set of constructions; whereas the influence of the *quom*-clause was a real force, and in the vigor of comparative youth. As regards the other explanation, the hypothesis of a Greek influence upon Latin construction should not, it seems to me, be resorted to until it is clear that no explanation can be found in forces known to be at work in Latin. And, further, if statistics turn out to be as seems probable, the theory of Greek influence, like the theory of potentiality, will be unable to answer the question why this influence should not have affected clauses with *ubi*, *ut*, and *si* as early and as rapidly as clauses with *quom*. Yet one can well believe that, after the association of the subjunctive with the idea of repetition had once been formed through the influence of the *quom*-clause, the parallelism of the Greek construction would accelerate the movement in Latin, and make still more natural its extension to other conjunctions than *quom*.

One further consideration should be pointed out, which makes for the hypotheses here suggested, and against both of the other hypotheses. The subjunctive of repeated action is generally believed to appear first in the imperfect and pluperfect tenses, and for a considerable time to be confined to these tenses. This is precisely what would be expected if the change is due to the influence of the narrative *quom*-clause, — itself always in the pluperfect or imperfect. But if the change were due to the idea of potentiality, there would be no reason why that idea should not take effect in the present or perfect as well; and, similarly, if the change were due to Greek influence, the use of the subjunctive in secondary tenses under the model of the Greek gen-

eralizing optative would be inseparable from the use of the subjunctive in primary tenses under the model of the Greek generalizing subjunctive.

A change of view is evidently necessary in regard to the age of this construction of the subjunctive of repeated action. It is commonly said to have begun in the generation after Caesar and Cicero. But Catullus has it, not only with *quom*, but with *si* (84, 1). The old-fashioned Varro has it, the author of the *Bell. Afr.* has it (*si convertissent*, 70), and the author of the *Bell. Hisp.* (*quom meritis esset*, 1). Caesar, if we take *quom* and *si* together, has nine instances of it, and with the former particle certainly employs it with entire freedom. Even, then, if we had no evidence that Cicero himself ever employed the construction, we should know that he heard it familiarly from the mouths of others. As it is, we have seen that he has at least sixteen instances of it (there are two more to add later), and that some of them belong to early orations. These facts are quite enough to justify the proposition that the date of the usage must be carried one generation, at any rate, back of the place ordinarily assigned to it in the grammars. In effect, we are obliged to refer the beginnings of the construction vaguely to the same period to which we have to refer the rise of the subjunctive *quom*-constructions in general; namely, the period corresponding to the gap in the literature before Cicero. And for Cicero himself, the most that we can say is, that though he employs the construction a considerable number of times, he occupies a more conservative position towards it than Caesar does.

It is, then, not inconsistent with my tentative hypothesis of the origin of this construction in the *quom*-clause of situation that, just as matters had already gone so far that Catullus and Caesar extend the construction to *si*, so Cicero should occasionally use it with other introductory words than *quom*. I have noted only the following examples:

An tum eratis consules, quom, **qua-**
cumque de re verbum facere **coopera-**
tis, cunctus ordo reclamabat? Cic., Pis.,
13, 29,

Is, qui omnium eruditorum testimonio
totiusque iudicio Graeciae quom pruden-
tia et acumine et venustate et subtilitate
tum vero eloquentia, varietate, copia,
quam se **cumque** in partem **dedit**set,

omnium fuit facile princeps . . . Cic., De Or., 3, 16, 60.

Idcirco omnibus rebus agendis "quod bonum faustum felix fortunatumque esset" praefabantur, rebusque divinis quae publice fierent, ut "faverent linguis" imperabatur, inque feriis imperandis, ut "litibus et iurgiis se abstinerent." Itemque in lustranda colonia ob eo **qui** eam **deduceret**, et quom imperator exercitum, censor populum lustraret, bonis nominibus, qui hostias ducerent, eligebantur. Cic., Div., 1, 45, 102.¹

Nor would it be strange if the construction, having begun in the imperfect and pluperfect clause of a recurring situation, should in time make its appearance in the present or present-perfect clause of a recurring situation, as it seems to do in the following:

Ferae quom vestigia catulorum consecratae sunt et silvas pervagatae, **quom** saepe ad cubilia expilata **redierint**, rabiem intra exiguum tempus exstinguunt. Sen., Marc., 7, 2.

Mox, **ubi** sanguis in artus extremos **suffuderit**, levi ictu cruorem eliciunt atque invicem lambunt. Tac., Ann., 12, 47.

Mox retro vocari populus Romanus, laudibusque extollere, ut est volgus cupiens voluptatum, et, **si** eodem princeps **trahat**, laetum. Tac., Ann., 14, 14.

Iracundus **quom** irasci **desierit**, tunc irascitur. Cornelius Balbus, Nug. Phil., p. 21 Wölfflin.

Madvig's view (ad Cic., Fin., 5, 41), that the perfect subjunctive is at no period employed for repeated action, appears to me to be in itself unnatural. I agree here rather with Riemann, who cites the two cases from Tacitus above as I have cited them. Yet, again like Riemann, I cannot help a feeling of suspicion with regard to the two passages from Caesar in which

¹ *Qui deduceret* is cited as frequentative by Riemann (Syntaxe Latine¹, p. 248, and Études sur la Langue et la Grammaire de Tite Live, p. 295), whose authority I have on my side in believing that Cicero employed the subjunctive of repeated action. *Quae fierent* in the same passage might possibly be taken as a case of the classifying subjunctive, and for that reason I have not marked it as an example under our present head. Similarly, I have not claimed *si esset* in Cic., De Or., 1, 54, 232 (cited above), since, as Wilkins suggests, *ad loc.*, it might possibly be referred to a virtual *oratio obliqua*. Yet I should add that I am inclined rather to agree with Riemann that it is frequentative.

the cdd. give a generalizing perfect subjunctive (*quom superaverint*, B. G., 6, 17, 3, and *uter superarit*, 6, 19, 2). And my feeling is the same with regard to the two following passages from Varro: ¹

Tum id faciunt, **quom** inter se signa pacis ac belli **habeant**. R. R., 3, 16, 9.

Quom pepererit equa mulum aut mulam, nutricantes educamus. R. R., 2, 8, 4.²

¹ I owe a number of my examples under various parts of the present category, as well as under other categories, to Dr. J. S. Reid, of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, of whose kindness I desire to make especial acknowledgment. But, though I have Dr. Reid's support in maintaining the existence of the subjunctive of repeated action in Cicero (he has called attention to it in print), he must not be held responsible for the hypothesis here proposed for the origin of the construction.

² Of the examples, eighteen in all, which I have cited from Cicero, not more than one or two could be thrown out by any critic.

On the other hand, I have myself omitted a number of examples which may belong under this head, but of which I feel suspicious. For instance, *quom premeretur* in Cic., Off., 2, 12, 41, may be iterative, or may simply indicate the general state of affairs in the whole period under discussion.

The latter meaning seems to me to be clearly the ground of the mode in Cic., Sull., 20, 59 (*numquam timui, quom in illa rei publicae tempestate versarer*), since the context shows that a single period is thought of, not a recurring situation. In Cic., Verr., 3, 4, 117, *quom lege Hieronica venirent* may indicate the general state of affairs in a past period, even though the sales referred to took place at intervals. In Cic., Verr., 3, 41, 94, *quom equester ordo iudicaret* surely refers to a state of affairs during a period (*in the period when*, and not *whenever*), and Harper's Dictionary is therefore in error in citing it as frequentative. In Cic., Brut., 62, 222, it is probable that the subjunctive in *dumtaxat quom diceret* is due to the restrictive meaning. In Varro, L. L., 6, 74, and Cic., Verr., 5, 6, 12, the subjunctives form parts of the dependent clause, though preceding them. In Cic., Rab. Post., 15, 42, the mode is due to the feeling of contrast.

Munro's note on Lucr., 3, 736, remains to be considered. In one of the passages to which he refers, the mode is due to the *oratio obliqua* (after *reperita est*); in two others to the influence of an imperative, which affects the mode of other verbs as an imperative subjunctive would do; and in a fourth case (Lucr., 5, 681), the mode of the clause *quom sumant* is due to the feeling of contrast. It should be noted, in passing, that it is not necessary that a clause, to stand the test of being adversative, should be translatable by "although;" it is sufficient if it is translatable by our adversative "while."

In Cic., Acad., 2, 5, 14, *quom velitis* seems to me to have the causal meaning of *in your desire*, and to refer to a single occasion. Dr. Reid, who in his edition of the "Academica" interprets it as frequentative, would not press it, I find, as an unquestionable case. *Quom dicant* of Varro, L. L., 6, 21, is explained on p. 186.

I have cited no examples of *quom* with the generalizing second person. Such examples are inconclusive, since this construction, which goes back to the beginnings of the literature, must have a history of its own. But it is very probable that the existence of this familiar construction would accelerate the spread of the other construction, when the latter was once started.

IX. Generalizing identification, passing into formal definition, versus (a) the exhibition of the workings of the qualities of the antecedent (person, thing, or time); or (b) the justification of the main statement through the causal subjunctive.

Definition.

Ergo **hic, quisquis est, qui** moderatione et constantia quietus animo **est** sibi que ipse placatus . . . , **is est sapiens.** Cic., Tusc., 4, 17, 37.

Vir **bonus est is qui prodest** quibus potest, **nocet** nemini. Cic., Off., 3, 15, 64.

Contentio est, quom ex contrariis rebus oratio **conficitur**, hoc pacto. Cornific., 4, 15, 21. So repeatedly.

Nulla est igitur **haec amicitia, quom** alter verum audire non **volt**, alter ad mentiendum paratus **est.** Cic., Lael., 26, 98.

Sed vivendi est finis optimus, **quom** integra mente certisque sensibus opus ipsa suum eadem quae coagmentavit natura **dissolvit.** Cic., Sen., 20, 72.

Is enim demum est mea quidem sententia **iustus** triumphus et **verus, quom** bene de re publica meritis testimonium a consensu civitatis **datur.** Cic., Phil., 14, 5, 13.

Exhibition of qualities or justification of the main statement.

Mihi videris . . . non solum **sapiens, qui hinc absis**, sed etiam beatus. Cic., Fam., 7, 28, 1.

C. Quinctius fuit P. Quinctii huius frater, sane ceterarum rerum paterfamilias et prudens et attentus, **una in re paulo minus consideratus, qui** societatem cum Sex. Naevio **fecerit.** Cic., Quinct., 3, 11.

Att. Ain tandem? unane est solum **dissensio?** M. Quae quidem ad rem pertineat, **una:** quippe **quom** antiqui omne, quod secundum naturam esset, quo iuvaremur in vita, bonum esse **decreverint**, hic nihil nisi quod honestum esset, **putarit** bonum. Cic., Leg., 1, 20, 54. (There is one difference of opinion between them, and one only; *for* . . .)

If, in the example opposite, **volt** were converted to **velit**, then the judgment would be converted from a *general* one to an *individual* one, — “the case we have before us is not one of friendship, *inasmuch as* . . .”

Non dubito, quin tibi quoque **id molestum sit, quom** et meo dolore **moveare** et ipse . . . affinem amicumque **amiseris.** Cic., Att., 1, 5, 1.

The following exhibits the *qui*-construction and the *quom*-construction together:

Non **ea est medicina, quom** sanae parti corporis scalpellum **adhibetur** atque integrae; carnificina est ista et crudelitas; **ei medentur** rei publicae, **qui exsecant** pestem aliquam tamquam strumam civitatis. Cic., Sest., 65, 135.

Zimmermann, as we saw on pp. 79–80, has shown that *quom* had in the time of Plautus two distinct uses (which had probably grown out of one), — a non-temporal explicative use, and a temporal use. In the former case it is substantially identical with *quod*, and means *that, in that*, etc.

In Plautus, the *quom*-clause is the common formula with verbs that express congratulation, pleasure, etc. In addition, a few cases occur in which the *quom*-clause is explicative of a preceding *eo*, etc. (*in that*). Both these uses survive in classical and later Latin, though they are rare.

X. Original explicative (non-temporal) *quom*-clauses, parallel with *quod*-clauses.¹

Saltem **id** **volup** **est**, **quom** ex virtute fortuna **evenit** tibi. Plaut., Mil., 1204.
(*Quom* = *the fact that*, and explains *id*.)

Quom tu **es** liber, **gaudeo**, Messenio.

Plaut., Men., 1127.

Sed **hoc** me **beat** saltem, **quom** perduellis

Vicit et domum laudis conpos **revenit**.

Plaut., Amph., 636–7.

Isto tu **pauper** **es**, **quom** nimis sancte piu 's.

Plaut., Rud., 1234.

Quiapropter neque tanta diis immortalibus gratia haberi possit, quanta habenda est, quod is cum illo animo atque ingenio hac civitate potissimum natus est, neque ita moleste atque aegre ferri quam ferundum est, **quom** eo morbo mortem **obiit** et in eodem tempore **periit**, quom et vobis et omnibus qui hanc rempublicam salvam volunt, maxime vivo opus est, Quirites. Lael., Schol. Bob. in Cic., Mil., p. 283 (Orell.).

Hospes **gratum** **est** **quom** apud meas **restitistei** sedes.

C. I. L., 1006.

Gaudes **quom** de me ista foris sermonibus **differs**.

Lucil., 30, 34 (Müll.).

Maxime **sum** **laetitia** **adfectus**, **quom** **audivi** consulem te factum esse. Cic., Fam., 15, 7, 1.

Rex Bocche, magna **laetitia** nobis **est**, **quom** te talem virum dei **monuere** uti . . . Sall., Jug., 102, 5.

Quom vero in C. Matii, suavissimi doctissimique hominis, familiaritatem **venisti**, non dici potest quam valde **gaudeam**. Cic., Fam., 7, 15, 2. (Most editors unnecessarily emend to *quod*.)

¹ Examples under this category approach closely to indicative examples under VII. But the construction of the latter is developed out of the strict temporal use of *quom*, while the construction of the former goes back to a use that never was temporal.

Tibi **maximas gratias ago, quom** tantum litterae meae **potuerunt**. Cic., Fam., 13, 24, 2. (Most editors unnecessarily emend to *quod*.)

L. quidem Caesar, quom ad eum aegrotum Neapolim venissem, quamquam erat oppressus totius corporis doloribus, tamen ante, quam me plane salutavit, "o mi Cicero," inquit "**gratulor** tibi, **quom** tantum **vales** apud Dolabellam, quantum" . . . Cic., Fam., 9, 14, 3, and again in Att., 14, 17, A, 3.

Te quidem, **quom** isto animo **es**, satis **laudare** non possum. Cic., Mil., 36, 99.

In Asinaria "Videbitur, factum volo; redito conticinio;" putem a conticescendo conticinium, sive, ut Opilius scribit, ab **eo quom conticuerunt** homines. Varro, L. L., 7, 79 (p. 358 Sp.). The habitual construction is *ab eo quod*, as in 6, 6 (p. 190 Sp.), 7, 44 (p. 330 Sp.).

At est **eo** meliore condicione quam adulescens, **quom** id, quod ille sperat, hic **consecutus est**: ille vult diu vivere, hic diu vixit. Cic., Sen., 19, 68. (*Eo quom* = *in that*.)

Quo maior est suspicio malitiae alicuius, **quom** id, quod ad ipsos nihil pertinebat, erat autem contra me, **scripserunt**. Cic., Att., 3, 23, 4. (. . . *the greater, in that*.)

Quo etiam maior vir habendus est, **quom** illam sapientiam constituendae civitatis duobus prope saeculis ante **cognovit**, quam eam Graeci natam esse senserunt. Cic., De Or., 2, 37, 154. (*Quo . . . quom* = *all the more, in that*. *Quo* serves at the same time to give the degree of difference with *maior*, and to anticipate *quom . . . cognovit*.) (Sorof and Wilkins emend the conjunction to *quod*, on the ground that the sense is clearly causal; and, on the same ground, Henrichsen, Bake, Adler, and Piderit, leaving *cum*, emend the verb to *cognovit*. But our citations show that the MSS. reading is exactly parallel to that of two other passages from Cicero, and one passage from Quintilian; and emendation, based merely on grammatical preconceptions, would go too far if it should reject four well attested cases, even if the clew to their history which is here given were lacking.)

Nam omnium, quaecumque docemus, **hoc** sunt exempla potentiora etiam ipsis quae traduntur artibus, **quom** eo qui discit **perductus est**, ut intellegere ea sine demonstrante et sequi iam suis viribus possit, quia, quae doctor praecepit, orator ostendit. Quintil., 10, 1, 15.

I have reserved for the last place an interesting example from the C. I. L. (I., 1011):

Haec quae me faato praecessit, corpore casto
Coniunxs una meo praedita amans animo
Fido fida viro veixsit studio parili, **qum**
Nulla in avarities **cessit** ab officio.

The *s* in *avarities* is of course certainly, and the *v* probably, a stone-cutter's blunder.

As for *qum*, Mommsen's note is "Quin Heins., ex em. puto;" and again, after the minuscule copy, in which he reads *quin*, "*quin* quamquam a coniectura profectum tamen recepi commendatum a Schradero et Hauptio." I venture, however, to

think that *qum* does not need emendation. We may easily take the sense to be "lived loyal to a loyal husband and with devotion like to his, in that she never swerved, in love of gain, from duty." The clause with *qum* would then serve as an ablative of respect modifying *veixsit studio parili*, and would be only a slight extension of what we have seen in the *ab eo quom* of Varro, and the *eo quom*, etc., of Cicero and Quintilian. It would seem to be easier to assume such an extension in a construction which may well be believed to have remained always common in popular Latin, than to resort to emendation. And the sense of the passage, so taken, would be better than if *quin* were to be read.

CHAPTER VI.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE *QUOM*-CONSTRUCTIONS UPON THE CONSTRUCTIONS AFTER OTHER TEMPORAL PARTICLES.

WHEN the *quom*-constructions have reached the extreme of their legitimate development, it would be natural that the use of the subjunctive should in sporadic cases be extended from the narrative *quom*-clauses to the clauses with *postquam*, *dum*, etc., which, though not, like the original *quom*-clauses, replaceable by *qui*-clauses, and so not sharing in the peculiarities which led to the ingress of the subjunctive into the *quom*-clauses, and to their great subsequent development, yet in effect resemble the narrative *quom*-clauses, and share with them the qualitative tenses. I cite only cases in which all the Cdd. agree:

Quom optatissimum nuntium acceperissem te mihi quaestorem obtigisse, eo iucundiores mihi eam sortem sperabam fore, quo diutius in provincia mecum fuisses; magni enim videbatur interesse ad eam necessitudinem, quam nobis sors tribuisset, consuetudinem quoque accedere: **posteaquam** mihi nihil neque a te ipso neque ab ullo alio de adventu tuo **scriberetur**, verebar ne id ita caderet — quod etiam nunc vereor —, ne ante, quam tu in provinciam venisses, ego de provincia decederem. Cic., Fam., 2, 19, 1.

Mithridates autem omne reliquum tempus non ad oblivionem veteris belli, sed ad comparationem novi contulit; qui **posteaquam** maximas **aedificasset** **ornassetque** classis exercitusque permagnos quibuscumque ex gentibus potuisset **comparasset** et se Bosporanis finitimis suis bellum inferre **simularet**, usque in Hispaniam legatos ac litteras misit ad eos duces, quibuscum tum bellum gerebamus, ut. . . . Cic., Manil., 4, 9.

Posteaquam mihi litterae a Balbo Cornelio minore **missae essent** illum existimare Quintum fratrem lituum meae protectionis fuisse — ita enim scripsit —, qui nondum cognossem, quae de me Quintus scripsisset ad multos, etsi multa praesens in praesentem acerbe dixerat et fecerat, tamen nihilo minus his verbis ad Caesarem scripsi. Cic., Att., 11, 12, 1.

Posteaquam, ut scribit Phalereus, sumptuosa fieri funera et lamentabilia **coepissent**, Solonis lege sublata sunt. Cic., Leg., 2, 25, 64.

Oppianicus primo recusavit: **posteaquam** illa abducturam se filiam, mutaturam esse testamentum **minaretur**, mulieri crudelissimae servum fidelissimum non in quaestionem tulit, sed plane ad supplicium dedit. Cic., Cluent., 64, 181.

In all these passages, Baiter and Kayser accept the emendation of *postea cum* in place of *postea quam*, upon which the cdd. agree. C. F. W. Müller, from whom I differ with reluctance, likewise emends in the later volumes of his Cicero, though in the volume containing the Leg. (1878) he retained the subjunctive, with a note of doubt, in the passage cited above.

Galli, quos praedae populationumque conciverat spes, **postquam** pro eo ut ipsi ex alieno agro raperent agerentque, suas terras sedem belli esse premique utriusque partis exercituum hibernis **viderent**, verterunt retro in Hannibalem ab Romanis odia. Liv., 22, 1, 2-3. Weissenborn rightly preserves the reading of the Cdd. The older Cdd. have also *quae postquam sunt audita et undique primores patrum et prioris anni consules increparent*, 4, 13, 10. Similarly the subjunctive after *postquam*, Auct. Bell. Afr., 91, 4; Vitruv., 2, 9, 16; Val. Max., v. 7, ext. 2; Tac., Ann., 12, 54.

Quod **ubi** coeptum est fieri et equis concitatis Iuliani impetum **fecissent**, Pacidius suos equites exporrigere coepit in longitudinem, ut . . . Auct. Bell. Afr., 78, 4.

Celso et Paulino abnuentibus militem itinere fessum, sarcinis gravem obicere hosti, non omissuro quo minus expeditus et vix quattuor milia passuum progressus aut incompósitos in agmine aut dispersos et vallum molientes adgrederetur, Titianus et Proculus, **ubi** consiliis **vincerentur**, ad ius imperii transibant. Tac., Hist., 2, 40.

Unus rem ex composito orditur. **Dum** intentus in eum se rex totus **averteret**, alter elatam securim in caput deiecit, relictoque in vulnere telo ambo se foras eiciunt. Liv., 1, 40, 7. Similarly 2, 47, 5; 10, 18, 1; 39, 49, 8; Perioch. Liv., 30 and 130; Val. Max., 9, 12, 7 and 3, 3, 2; Phaedr., 1, 4, 2; Auct. Bell. Afr., 25, 1; Auct. Bell. Hisp., 23, 2; Argument. I, 2 of Plaut. Amph.; Commodian., Carm. Apol., 220, 261; Hist. Aug., Helagab., 25; Gordian., 31; Aurel. Victor., Caes., 39, 11; Pompeius, Keil, 5, 257, 33.

These passages are both too well attested and too many in number to reject.

Accepting them, we easily understand Virgil's use of a subjunctive *dum*-clause like a narrative *quom*-clause in Georg., 4, 457-9:

Illa quidem, **dum** te **fugeret** per flumina praeceps,
Immanem ante pedes hydrum moritura puella
Servantem ripas alta non vidit in herba.

In Livy, 21, 28, 11, it is impossible to determine whether the subjunctive *agerentur* after *donec* is due to the same cause or to an idea of repetition.

The *ut exirent* of Ter., Hec., 378, is without a parallel, and Dziatzko's emendation to *ut exicram* strongly commends itself.

CHAPTER VII.

METHODS OF SYNTACTICAL INVESTIGATION, AND THE RESULTS OF THEIR APPLICATION TO THE *QUOM*-CONSTRUCTIONS.

THE older and still largely prevalent conception of syntax tacitly assumes a perfectly working, logically exact national mind as the creator of all forms of syntactical expression. It therefore sets up stiff fences between construction and construction, and, being naturally often baffled by facts, it invents, for some constructions, *a priori* principles which cannot be applied to others of the same class; witness, e. g., the principle that in Latin the idea of *cause* must be expressed by the subjunctive, which does very well for the *qui*- and *quom*-constructions, but does not do at all for the constructions with *quod*, *quia*, *quoniam*, and *quando*. On the other hand, it either is helpless in the presence of such phenomena as *quin* with the imperative, or resorts to sound explanations which ought to involve the surrender of the whole position.

Yet it has long been a commonplace that the unit of expression, the *word*, may take on a new force, naturally associated with its original force, then still another, naturally associated with the new one, with perhaps an accompanying loss of a part or the whole of its original force; and that this double process may continue until no trace of the original meaning is left. That the same course of gain and loss and transformation should not always have been recognized as possible for the complex unit of expression called the syntactical construction, is strange enough. Whatever the *a priori* grammarian might do, the lexicographer, at any rate, ought to have thought it antecedently probable that, here and there, a construction with which a given idea, not expressed by it, was naturally associated, would come in time to be understood and used as *expressing* that idea.

From near the beginning of the second half of the present century a student of the history of syntax may trace in several well-known books and monographs the rise of a conception of a method in harmony with such a view. Yet I know of no systematic treatise which may be said to be fairly dominated by it before the years 1870 and 1871, in the former of which Professor Greenough's "Analysis of the Latin Subjunctive" appeared, and in the latter Professor Delbrück's "Gebrauch des Conjunctivs und Optativs im Sanskrit und Griechischen." Professor Delbrück's book is well known, and, in connection with his subsequent writings, has had great influence. Professor Greenough's pamphlet was on a smaller scale, and being, in addition, privately printed, has had less attention called to it than its important place in the history of syntactical investigation demands.

In later years, Paul's "Principien der Sprachgeschichte," 1882 (2d ed., 1886), and Ziemer's "Junggrammatische Streifzüge im Gebiete der Syntax," 1882 (2d ed., 1883), together with the methods of procedure of Brugmann, Gröber, and others, have brought the attitude of the younger school toward syntax into general notice. Yet many of the grammars are still so little affected that the method of the present investigation will hardly escape censure.

The results of the application of the older method to the problem of the history of the *quom*-constructions have been stated and discussed in Part I. That method, as has been shown, has led to no solution; though the latest explanation, the one which is based upon the theory of "absolute and relative time," has been generally adopted in Germany, France, and America, in spite of its purely *a priori* and metaphysical character, and in spite of its failure to account for the facts of Latin usage.

Yet in one of these attempts to solve the problem by the older method, the first clear recognition of the existence of the qualitative aspect of time that is known to me appears; namely, in Gröhe's dissertation, "De usu Terentiano particularum temporalium," 1867 (see the citations on page 8 of Part I. of this study). Gröhe would seem to have taken his view from the lectures of his professor, Friedrich Haase. But, so far as we

may judge, both Gröhe and Haase held it in such a form as would approve itself to the prevailing conceptions of their time. Gröhe regards the subjunctive after *quom* as qualitative, but he regards *quom* as always temporal. As well might one explain the German *da causal* as always an expression of place, and the clause introduced by it as indicating the quality of the locality in which the event of the main clause occurred! While, then Gröhe was in possession of the seed of a sound doctrine, that seed was effectually debarred from growth.

In Professor Greenough's pamphlet, on the other hand, not only are the subjunctive *quom*-clauses referred to the qualitative subjunctive, but the whole method of treatment of these constructions is in keeping with (and so in historical advance of) the grammatical method of to-day. But by what appears to me a great misfortune, Professor Greenough also accepted the doctrine of Hoffmann as expounded in the edition of 1860. That edition, it will be recalled, had the advantage of not assigning grounds for the doctrine it advocated. In accepting the doctrine, Professor Greenough assigned his own grounds, as stated just above. The result, as seen on p. 24 of the Analysis, and in the foot-note on p. 234 of Allen and Greenough's Grammar, is in my judgment an enforced union of views that have nothing in common, together with a very regrettable obscuring of Professor Greenough's individual view under the terminology of Hoffmann.

It is a singular coincidence that Professor Haase, holding (though not in a form that admitted of a true solution) the doctrine of the qualitative character of the *quom*-subjunctives, as was shown by the posthumous publication of his "Vorlesungen über lateinische Sprachwissenschaft," 1880 (ii. pp. 217 seq.), should likewise have attempted to combine Professor Hoffmann's view with his own.

In the present investigation, if my conclusions have been correct, the doctrine of "absolute and relative time" has been disproved, and the doctrine of the qualitative character of the subjunctive *quom*-constructions has been carried to its legitimate conclusions, under the control of two conceptions: (1) that *quom* is merely *qui* with a restricted function; (2) that the life and

growth of language is a process of *movement*, in which association is likely to play a large part.

The syntax of the Latin verb presents a number of striking idiosyncrasies, notably the following: the use of the subjunctive in consecutive *ut*-clauses, the contents of which are facts; the use of the subjunctive in characterizing *qui*-clauses, the contents of which are facts; the use of the subjunctive in the expression of cause or hindrance; the use of the subjunctive in narrative *quom*-clauses. If the present investigation is successful, the number of remarkable subjunctive constructions that occur in no language but Latin (with the possible exceptions mentioned in the foot-note on page 92) is reduced to one; for all these four constructions are found to go back to the original process of association, by which the line between the ideal and the actual was first lost sight of and overstepped in relative clauses after negative antecedents. And, in turn, this result lends, in two ways, a certain slight confirmation to the method that leads to it. For it is antecedently improbable that any language will develop a considerable number of unrelated constructions that appear in no other language of the same family; and it is also antecedently probable that every construction that appears in one language, and is lacking in all other languages that betray the same fundamental conceptions of the mechanism employed, must have arisen, not under conceptions common to them all, but under the influence of some special association of ideas.

CHAPTER VIII.

SUMMARY.

IT remains to state, in compendious form and from the pedagogical point of view, the principal results of the investigation, both as regards the classical usage, and as regards the history of the constructions under examination. In doing this, I shall return to the form *cum*, and shall also use the word *characterizing*, beside or in place of the more technical word *qualitative*, with the understanding that it shall be taken as including the idea of the *condition* or *situation* of the antecedent.

Cum is simply a form of *qui* that came to be appropriated to antecedents indicating time.

All the *qui*-constructions have parallels in *cum*-constructions; but on account of the peculiar character of the temporal idea, as shown in many languages, the *cum*-constructions developed certain uses which went beyond those of the *qui*-constructions.

Certain constructions common to *qui* and *cum* may be at once disposed of as easy to recognize. They are as follows:

The parenthetical clause.

The "aside."

The forward-moving clause (giving rise to the construction of "cum inversum").

The generalizing clause assuming a fact (indicative).

The generalizing clause of an ideal act (subjunctive), in any time.

The generalizing clause in the second person singular indefinite.

In their simplest form, the three following are also easy to recognize:

The determinative clause.

The subjunctive characterizing clause.

The indicative characterizing clause.

The constructions of *qui* and *cum* that present difficulties are the various forms and various developments of the last three constructions. They require, therefore, a more detailed statement.

The so-called determinative pronominal words *is*, *ille*, *tum*, etc., have in reality both a determinative and a qualitative (characterizing) use, and should bear corresponding names, e. g. *is determinative*, *is qualitative*, etc. For the determinative use, the completing relative clause, with *qui* or *cum*, is in the indicative; for the qualitative (characterizing) in the subjunctive.

For a brief expression of the distinction, we may say that the determinative clause with *qui* or *cum* informs the hearer or reader *who* or *what* the person, thing, or time meant is; and that the qualitative (characterizing) clause informs the hearer or reader *what is the character* or *condition* of the person, thing, or time meant.

The determinative *cum*-clause, consequently, expresses *the date* of the main act.

The characterizing *cum*-clause with a pronominal antecedent names (through the pronoun and the *cum*), and (through the mode) expresses the character of, the time at which the main act took place, — that is to say, *the character of the situation*.

Out of this characterizing *cum*-clause with pronominal antecedent, two other kinds of *cum*-clauses were developed, — the causal or adversative, and the narrative. These three names, however, really only indicate convenient centres of grouping in a series of clauses which differ from one another by hardly perceptible gradations; and it is in practice often difficult to decide whether a given clause should be called merely characterizing, or narrative, or causal, or narrative *and* causal, etc., etc.

All these varieties and shades of the subjunctive *cum*-clause have this in common, that, in a stronger or fainter manner, they express the *character of the situation* at the time of the main act. They differ, in that the particle *cum* retains its temporal force in all the phases of the narrative clause, while in the extreme of

the development of the causal-adversative clauses the temporal meaning has wholly disappeared. We may then formulate the three uses of the characterizing *cum*-clause as follows:

The *cum*-clause with pronominal antecedent expresses the character of the situation in which the main act took place, with or without a causal or adversative bearing upon that act, according to the nature of the latter. (Observe that, on account of the pronominal antecedent, this clause *indirectly* involves the idea of the *date*).

The narrative *cum*-clause expresses the character of the situation in which the main act took place, either with or without a causal or adversative bearing upon that act.

The non-temporal *cum*-clause expresses the character of the situation in which the main act took place, takes place, etc., with strong causal or adversative bearing upon that act.

These three kinds of subjunctive clauses may conveniently be grouped under one formula in the first of the two statements following, and the common determinative use of the indicative clause, which stands in opposition to them, may be briefly formulated in the second:

The subjunctive cum-clause expresses the situation¹ existing at the time at which the main act takes place, with or without a causal or adversative bearing upon that act.

The indicative cum-clause determines the time at which the main act takes place (the date), with or without a causal or adversative bearing upon that act.

The subjunctive *cum*-clause, then, answers the question, **How were things at the time** at which the main act took place?

The indicative *cum*-clause answers the question, **What was the time** at which the main act took place?

If, on the other hand, we seek for brief phrases which shall indicate both the idea which is common to the various con-

¹ In the clause of fullest meaning there is strong emphasis upon the idea of the *character* of the situation. But at one extreme of the development (the lightest narrative clause), the idea of character has nearly passed away, and little remains beside the ideas of time and situation, just as, at the other extreme (the pure causal or adversative clause), the idea of time passed away, and nothing remained but the ideas of situation and of the bearing of that situation.

structions and the individual office of each, we may name these indicative and subjunctive clauses as follows:

Indicative.	The clause of date.
Subjunctive.	The clause of situation involving date, or of situation and date.
	The narrative clause of situation, introductory or sequent.
	The causal-adversative clause (of situation).

Certain distinguishing marks of these clauses are important to observe:

The narrative *cum*-clause advances the narration by telling, for the first time, a new incident in the story, or by recapitulating one that has just been narrated, as a preparation for the next.

The determinative *cum*-clause, on the contrary, points to an act aside from the context, and presumably already familiar (independently known) to the hearer or reader.

The clause of situation involving date points, like the determinative clause, to an act aside from the context and presumably already familiar to the hearer or reader, but employs that act not so much for the purpose of showing *when* it was that the main act took place, as for the purpose of showing *how things were when* the main act took place.

The narrative *cum*-clause may be converted into an indicative clause with *postquam*, *ubi*, *ut*, or *simul atque*,¹ and *vice versa*.

The determinative *cum*-clause cannot be converted into any other form of clause, except the exactly equivalent determinative clause with *quo tempore*, as in the following: *Quo tempore* me augurem a toto conlegio expetitur Cn. Pompeius et Q. Hortensius *nominaverunt* . . . , tu nec solvendo eras nec . . . (Cic., Phil., 2, 2, 4).

¹ The narrative clause should be viewed as belonging to the same set of expressions as the adjective, the appositive, the participle, the ablative absolute, and clauses with *postquam*, *ubi*, *ut*, and *simul atque*, and as being interchangeable with these constructions, so far as existing verbal forms will admit. The following example illustrates, in part, the stylistic resources of the language in narration:

L. Paulus **consul** iterum, **quom** ei bellum ut cum rege Perse gereret **obtigisset**, **ut** ea ipsa die domum ad vesperum **rediit**, filiulam suam Tertiam, quae tum erat admodum parva, **osculans** animum advertit tristiculam. Cic., Div., 1, 46, 103.

The following notes apply to the *cum*-constructions and the *qui*-constructions alike:

The fact stated in a determinative clause may stand in a causal or adversative relation to the main act.

The fact stated in a determinative clause may incidentally indicate the character of the antecedent; and, conversely,

The fact stated in a characterizing clause may incidentally determine who or what the antecedent is.

Characterizing clauses.

The mode of the characterizing *qui*-clause or *cum*-clause after a self-defining antecedent is the indicative; after an antecedent not self-defining, the subjunctive.

Generalizing clauses.

The mode of the generalizing *qui*-clause or *cum*-clause (no matter how strongly characterizing or how strongly causal or adversative) is regularly the same as in the corresponding general condition with *si quis* or *si quando*. In other words, the generalizing idea took precedence of the characterizing idea in the Roman mind.

Generalizing clauses with application to individual cases.

The generalizing *qui*-clause or *cum*-clause is occasionally used when the point lies in the application of the generality to an individual case which is in mind.

Causal and adversative clauses, tacit and explicit.

The idea of cause or hindrance¹ may be *conveyed*, after a self-defining antecedent, through an indicative clause with *qui* or *cum* (the *tacit* causal or adversative clause; compare clauses with *ὅς*); or may be *expressed* through a subjunctive clause with *qui* or *cum* (the *explicit* causal or adversative clause; compare clauses with *ὅς γέ* and *ὅς περ*). With *qui*, the tacit causal or adversative clause is common; with *cum*, the construction is less common, and, in the present tense (as after *nunc cum*), is very rare.

¹ The word "hindrance" is taken from Professor Greenough's Grammar. The word "adversative," which I have employed throughout as the adjective, exactly corresponds. The words "concession" and "concessive," so commonly employed, are inexact, since they are also used for clauses with *quamvis* and *ut*. The meaning "even if we concede" is not the meaning of the *cum*-clause.

Loosely attached clauses.

A clause in the characterizing, or in the causal or adversative form, may be so loosely attached to the antecedent as to be practically independent, and so may be in the indicative.

Determinative clauses (indicative) in special uses: non-committal clauses, or clauses of reserved meaning (mostly introductory); clauses of identity; clauses of definition.

Special developments of the *determinative qui-clauses* and *cum-clauses* have brought about the following uses:

- a. To present a person, thing, or occasion in a neutral (non-committal) manner, in preparation for the main statement about that person, thing, or occasion, with obvious causal or adversative relation between the two clauses.
- b. To present two acts or states as substantially identical (equivalent).
- c. To express a definition.

Indicative cum-clauses after verbs of rejoicing, etc.

An original explicative (non-temporal) use of the *cum*-clause remains in good though rare use in Ciceronian and later Latin after verbs of congratulation and rejoicing, after ablatives of respect like *hoc*, and after similar ablatives combining the idea of respect and the idea of the measure of difference.

Survivals of old constructions.

The old indicative characterizing clause after indefinite antecedents is occasionally met with in Varro, Caesar, and Cicero (especially in the earlier works).

The old indicative causal relative clause with the express terminology *quippe qui* and the like is occasionally met with in Lucretius (*quippe ubi*), Sallust and Livy (*quippe qui*), Tacitus (*ut apud quos*), and possibly Cicero (*quippe qui* and *utpote qui*).

The old indicative causal *cum*-clause is met with in Lucilius, the C. I. L., Lucretius, and Varro.

The old indicative narrative *cum*-clause is met with in Scipio Minor, Varro, Caesar, Cicero, the author of the *Bellum Hispanum*, Nepos, Virgil, Livy, Tacitus, Suetonius, Gellius, and probably many others.

The history of the subjunctive constructions which form the special object of our investigation would seem to have been, in outline, as follows :

The original consecutive *qui*-clause was simply a grammatically independent subjunctive of ideal assertion, like the relative clause in the sentence "he is a man who would not listen to such proposals" (which might equally well stand in the independent form "he would not listen to such proposals"). Such a clause is the natural expression of a tendency, an adaptability (*the original characterizing clause*).

Through a confusion which appears to have taken place first in consecutive clauses after negative antecedents, the line between the assertion of an ideal certainty (as in "there is no one who could") and an assertion that implies a fact (as in "there is no one who can") was obscured, and the subjunctive became the universal mode in consecutive clauses.¹ (What has been said of *qui* is true equally of its special forms *ut*, *ubi*, etc.)

In *qui*-clauses after negative antecedents, this change had taken place before the time of Plautus. But in *qui*-clauses after indefinite antecedents it was not completed until the time of Cicero. Nor was the new construction even then so firmly established as to prevent a retrogression in late Latin.

The causal use of the subjunctive *qui*-clause is probably a development from a consecutive use in which the subjunctive clause expresses the working of the character attributed to the antecedent, and at the same time has the appearance of being the justification of the attribution of that character (as in "Are they dumb, that they speak not?"). The adversative use arises indirectly from the causal.

The introductory phrases for the consecutive clause in the times of Plautus and Terence were *talis qui*, *talis ut*, and *is ut*. After the time of Terence the phrases *is qui* and *ille qui* came also to be used in the consecutive sense; so that there were now two possible modes to be used after these phrases with distinct

¹ Besides this characterizing clause, derived from the independent subjunctive of an ideal assertion, there is another characterizing clause, of jussive origin, expressing a quality desired; and there is probably a third, — the characterizing clause expressing capacity, derived from an original independent pure potential.

meanings, — the indicative with the determinative meaning, and the subjunctive with the consecutive (characterizing) meaning.

In keeping with the experience of temporal conjunctions in many languages, the Latin temporal relative had, by the time of Plautus, developed a great variety of uses. These uses fall in the main into two great classes: on the one hand, those in which the clause tells what was the time at which the main act took place (determinative clauses, or clauses of the date); on the other, those in which the clause tells what was the character of the time at which the main act took place, by expressing the situation existing at that time (characterizing clauses, or clauses of the situation).

These latter clauses may be subdivided into three classes, though in strictness there is nowhere a clear line of separation among them, — clauses which differ from determinative clauses only in that there is also a strong characterizing feeling, on which more emphasis is laid than on the determinative (clauses of situation involving date); clauses in which the construction of the situation serves to express a new incident in the story, as a preparation for, or supplement to, the statement of a new main act (narrative clause of situation, introductory or sequent); and clauses in which the temporal meaning of *cum* has entirely disappeared, leaving to them only the idea of the character of the situation, together with the idea of the causal or adversative bearing which is necessarily involved (causal-adversative clause of situation).

For all these constructions¹ the mode in Plautus was the indicative. Old Latin and English are therefore closely parallel; for English has, in the indicative, a *when*-clause of date, a *when*-clause of situation involving date, a narrative *when*-clause, and an adversative *when*-clause, all in familiar use. (The causal *when*-clause is very rare, and only colloquial.)

When, however, the phrases *is qui* and *ille qui* came, in the interval between Terence and Cicero, to be used with a consecutive (characterizing) meaning, taking the subjunctive as their mode, there came about a clear feeling of the essential opposi-

¹ For possible exceptions, see the foot-note next following.

tion between the determinative idea (expressed by the indicative) and the characterizing idea (expressed by the subjunctive). This sense of the opposition of the two ideas would of course be as strong in the case where the antecedent was a word of time (*id tempus quo*, *eo tempore quo*, and the like) as in the case where the antecedent was a thing or a person. Nor would the use of the special temporal relative *quom* in place of *quo*, etc., in any way blunt this sense, nor the substitution of the special temporal demonstrative *tum* in place of *eo tempore*. The result would be that the distinction between the determinative and the characterizing idea in relative clauses would ultimately make a clear cleft of modal difference between the determinative *quom*-clauses on the one hand, and the entire mass of characterizing clauses, with all their varieties of function, on the other.¹

Clauses with *postquam*, *ubi*, *ut*, *simul atque*, *quoniam*, *quando*, *quod*, *quia*, and *quamquam*, on the contrary, no matter how great their resemblance in meaning to the narrative, the causal, or the adversative *cum*-clauses, remained unaffected by the incoming of the characterizing use of the *is qui* phraseology; for these particles either were not used at all as relatives for an antecedent *eo tempore*, etc., or (as in the case of *quando*) were only very rarely so used.

Our investigation is concluded. If it is, in its main features, sound, the hope expressed in the early pages of Part I. has been justified; for the most remarkable and most difficult constructions of the Latin relatives (*qui*, *cum ut*, etc.), — namely, the consecutive, the characterizing, the classifying, the causal, the adversative, and the narrative, — have been shown to be, not isolated and separate constructions, each constituting a point in which the Latin language is without a parallel, but developments from one original construction, the independent subjunctive assertion of an ideal certainty.

¹ In the case of the causal-adversative *cum*-clause, this natural conversion of the mode must have been accelerated by the influence of the already existing subjunctive *qui*-clause of the same meaning. Or it may even be that the earliest use of the subjunctive in the causal-adversative *cum*-clause was wholly due to this influence, in advance of the normal development within the lines of the *cum*-constructions themselves.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

To the examples given on page 122 of the rare use of the indicative in an adjective clause which is virtually predicative, the following should be added, which is also an exception to the ordinary principle illustrated on page 96 : —

Continuoque producta est puella satis **bella et quae** non plus quam septem annos habere **videbatur**. Petron., Sat., 25.

To the statement made several times in this study that *is qui* and *ille qui* in the qualitative meaning and with the consecutive subjunctive do not occur in Plautus and Terence, I am sorry to have to ask the reader to add the words, “or are at any rate very rare.” In order to speak definitively (though the difference is immaterial to my view), I devoted one reading to this special point, but not under conditions which would absolutely preclude all possibility of overlooking an exception ; and the second reading, which I had hoped to give under better circumstances, has proved impossible, unless at the cost of a still longer delay.

In Ter., Phorm., 821, a natural beginning for the qualitative use of *is qui* may be seen in the full form *eius modi*, followed by the relative and a subjunctive that could stand independently.

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